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Near East/South Asia Report



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2 August 1984

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EGYPT

LABOR PARTY REVERSES STAND ON ASSEMBLY APPOINTMENT

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 21 Jun 84 p 5

[Article by Jamal Shawqi: "Voice of The Opposition; Why Labor Party Reversed Decision to Reject Principle of Appointment to People's Assembly"]

[Text] After Labor party leaders had announced their rejection, following the election results of the principle of party members in the People's Assembly as part of the members appointed by the president of the republic, the party went back on this principle and announced its acceptance of appointing party members to the assembly.

Hours after the party announced its acceptance of appointing members to the People's Assembly, far-reaching reaction within the party came into play. Some supported the decision as a means of entering the People's Assembly, so that the party may be represented in the assembly, and the chance to express the party's viewpoints in the coming phase must not be wasted.

The opponents said this decision is a reconciliation with the government despite its actions in the past elections.

Throughout a week, during which the party's higher committee and the executive committee held several closed meetings, heated debates and vast differences of view points were triggered between supporters and opponents of the principle of appointing party members to the People's Assembly.

Following a number of rowdy sessions, the principle of appointment was approved, but by a majority of 30 for and 16 against, with 4 abstentions and the absence of 35 members representing half the party's higher committee's membership.

Furthermore, the executive committee approved by a majority of 9 for and 6 against with 6 abstentions.

It was this close vote between supporters and opponents that led to the heated debates and differences.

Also, the absence of some party leaders from the closed sessions aggravated the situation, leading to sharper differences between the two sides and the

emergence of old conflicts to the top of the negotiating "table." Among the most prominent leaders who were absent from all the sessions, that lasted one full week, was Dr Hilmi Murad (secretary general).

After both the party's higher committee and executive committee approved this decision by a slight majority, the party held a meeting of the two committees during which candidates for appointment to the People's Assembly were nominated. Among the most prominent candidates were Engr Ibrahim Shukri, current party chief; Sayyid Rustum, former Shubra deputy for labor in the People's Assembly and Dr Hilmi Murad, the party's secretary general.

This meeting was followed by a "suhur" [before daybreak Ramadan meal] celebration hosted by Engr Ibrahim Shukri.

AL-AHRAR met with some party leaders to ascertain the various viewpoints about the party's recent decision to accept the appointment of its members to the People's Assembly.

Justice Fu'ad Nushi, assistant secretary of the Labor Party, says, "The principle of appointment to elected councils is contrary to democratic precepts, even though the Egyptian constitution allows for the appointment of 10 members to the People's Assembly selected by the president of the republic. The law also allows the president of the republic to appoint one third of the Shura Council membership. Such appointments constitute a breach in the wall of democracy. I believe in the deletion of the article pertaining to such appointments from the constitution and the Shura Council law because it is unnatural for the people to elect their deputies, then have the president of the republic appoint other deputies, particularly since this right has been broadened to include one third of the Shura Council membership, a very significant number that affects the council's quality, work and membership. Regardless of the allegations that the appointment provision was instituted for the treatment of some problems, this has only been realized in form. By contrast, the Shura Council, for instance, is totally appointed as a result of the parties' boycott of the elections during which only ruling National Party representatives were selected, and the rest of the National Party members and others were appointed.

"Regarding the appointment of Socialist Labor Party [SLP] and other party members to the new People's Assembly, I believe this will not compensate for election-rigging and excesses and for the National Party's near-monopoly of assembly seats, although it received only a small number of votes, as evidenced by interior ministry official figures that show that of the 43 percent of the voters who went to the polls, the National Party received only 72 percent, which is equal to 30 percent of registered voters. Consequently, it is a minority party even though it got 82 percent of the assembly seats."

Justice Fu'ad Nushi went on to say: "The addition of a number of opposition members to the People's Assembly as part of the 10 members appointed by the president of the republic is treating a "fever" patient with aspirin.

I believe it will be good to leave this assembly to its true image to turn into another Shura Council whose only job is to debate inside its "air-conditioned" halls and sessions.

"About what will happen during the party's third general conference next October, I cannot predict that, but I think there is a trend towards change.

"I also believe that there will be problems and divisions within the party because there is a large group that rejects the principle of appointment. This group believes that entering the People's Assembly through appointment is detrimental to the party's reputation, and had the government been serious about the representation of all opposition detachments in the People's Assembly, it would have made sure that the elections were free and honest. It would have abolished the 8 percent provision which prevented four out of six parties from entering the People's Assembly, something that did not happen even during the Nabawi Isma'il elections held in 1979. Although they were rigged, the Labor and Liberal Parties were able to win some seats and the Grouping Party was able, during the last few months, to enter the People's Assembly where five parties, after the Wafd joined them, were represented, thus achieving representation for all the opposition parties."

Abu-al-Fadl al-Jizawi, member of the Labor Party's general committee, adds: "First, I am against the appointment of members to the current People's Assembly and I rejected this principle during the party's recent meeting.

"The assault against Ibrahim Shukri, the death of the Labor Party martyr in Luxor and the assaults against party leaders and candidates must not go without a reconciliation which must have objective terms, such as the retroactive abolition of the 8 percent provision and the establishment of guarantees for future elections. Second, political and criminal investigations must be stirred up to achieve quick results in investigations stemming from the recent elections."

Lawyer Abu-al-Fadl al-Jizawi added: "So that it will not be said that the Labor Party is a meek party, as happened in the al-Sadat days when Mahmud Abu Wafiyah and his colleagues were expelled, thus improving the party's situation:

"I believe that, in the wake of this decision, the picture will be fuzzy and that this decision is a significant political and strategic error.

"This notwithstanding, we will not freeze our activities within the party and we will not be negative. We are a democratic party and all allegations about resignations are totally rejected. We must accept this in a sportsmanlike spirit while nonetheless taking into consideration the correction of the party's course in the coming phase.

"There is a tendency to remove those weaklings who approved the principle of appointment.

"Nonetheless, the decision has pros and cons. If these members succeeded in doing something in the People's Assembly, it would be very nice and we will

prepare hearings and will fully respect the party's decision. But from a personal point of view, I believe that three-quarters of the party's faces will be changed in the party's general conference."

Party member in the Shura committee, 'Imad Hamadah, says: "The decision of the Labor Party's higher committee and executive committee to accept the principle of appointing party members as part of the 10 members appointed by the presidential decree to the People's Assembly is the biggest blow the party leaders directed against all members at the republic's level."

Why Did We Approve?

One of those who approved and preferred to remain anonymous says:

"Our point of view as approvers was to underscore the importance of the SLP's presence in the People's Assembly to be used as a means of expressing the party's opinions and ideas. Regardless of how insignificant the outcome of this presence may be, the appointee will be committed to the party's principles and ideas, particularly that the new assembly only represents the right with no representation whatsoever for the socialist orientation."

12502

CSO: 4504/325

EGYPT

LAWYERS OPPOSE BAR ASSOCIATION'S ELECTIONS LAW

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 21 Jun 84 p 5

[Article by Lutfi 'Abd-al-Latif: "Lawyers Refuse to Run for Bar Association Elections Under New Legal Profession Law"]

[Text] The Bar Association's board held a seminar to discuss the new association's law issued by the People's Assembly in 1983 regarding the organization of the [Egyptian] Bar Association.

The seminar was attended by Muhammad Fahim, Bar Association secretary; Ahmad Nasir, association board member; and Hamid al-Azhari and a large number of lawyers.

The lawyers maintained that running for elections under this law will weaken the association and allow the government to introduce elements to fragment the lawyers.

Hamid al-Azhari said: "After what we saw in the People's Assembly elections that took place under the electoral law by the stipulated slates and acts of falsification committed under the protection of this law, we cannot run for the association elections under this new law."

Al-Azhari added: "We were expecting a large number of lawyers to enter the People's Assembly to repeal this strange law, but it was not to be."

The Association Not Impotent

Lawyer 'Adil Kamil said: "The Bar Association, which was able to stand up to President al-Sadat and withstand all sorts of pressures brought to bear by the government, is not incapable of standing up to the new electoral law."

Lawyer 'Abd-al-Hamid Nayil said: "The government is trying to use the law to confront freedom, just as it had employed political thuggery to confront the Bar Association in 1981." He added: "The next attack against democracy will be directed against the Bar Association by a government which succeeded in attacking the opposition through the new electoral law under which the 27 May 1984 elections were held."

Nayil also said: "We must round up all the national forces in Egypt to discuss the future of the Bar Association. Judges were able to bring back the judges' club by defending the club, and the lawyers are not incapable of defending their association."

Battle of All The People

Ahmad Nasir said: "The Bar Association battle is not just that of the lawyers alone, but rather of Egypt as a whole, for the lawyers are the defenders of the people." Ahmad Nasir demanded the convening of a lawyer's [association] general assembly to look into the new legal profession law and ways and means of holding association elections, provided that the lawyers must abide by the general assembly's resolutions in this regard."

Lawyer Nabil al-Hilali demanded the revocation of the new legal profession law and the exposure of its flaws to the entire Egyptian people. He also called for the necessity of reaching the apolitical lawyers to present the case to them so that the lawyers' battle against the new law will not be theirs alone, but rather that of the entire Egyptian population for the sake of democracy.

Lawyer Dr Jalal Rajab called for the need to hold a meeting of the association's general assembly, which requires the attendance of 1,500 lawyers, not a difficult task, and the necessity to turn to the untouched group of lawyers to win them over to the association's side.

Muhammad Fahim, secretary general of the Bar Association, demanded greater enthusiasm and more serious steps in facing the new association law and the necessity to unite the lawyers.

Finally, the lawyers, at the end of their seminar held at the Bar Association's open hall last Monday, demanded that efforts be made to convene the association's general assembly to look into the matter of the new association law, and that all lawyers abide by the general assembly's resolutions.

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NPUG'S AL-AHALI CRITICIZES NUMAYRI'S POLICIES

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 27 Jun 84 p 2

[Article: "Letter From a Sudanese Citizen: What Is Egypt's Responsibility for Happenings in Sudan Under Numayri's Regime?"]

[Text] Recently I noticed the AL-AHALI newspaper's interest in what is going on in the Sudan. I read two articles in recent weeks under the headlines: "Are We Helping the People of Sudan or Are We Helping President Numayri" and "Why Is the Imam Infuriating His Allies?" The topic of the first question is what the Sudanese are asking themselves. Numayri is becoming more authoritarian day after day and his regime has become the rule of a dictator who must remain in power at any cost. As a result, the country is being subjected to severe political, economic and social crises so intense that the Sudanese people are fearful of an imminent black fate for the country if things do not change.

Discontent with the Numayri regime is no longer confined to the political opposition, but has extended to the ordinary citizen and, what is more, to the men of government and the members of the ruling establishments themselves. Recently, it included the regular forces, the security officials and even the leaders of the Socialist Union. All are whispering their concern, bewilderment and powerlessness before Numayri and his obsession with power, which he is determined to keep through various contrivances and excuses. Numayri has become the sole absolute ruler who is the president of the republic, the prime minister, the army's commander-in-chief, the armed forces chief-of-staff and the president of the Socialist Union. He is also the senior officer of the executive and judicial bodies, and has become the sole legislator since all the various laws passed last September--the so-called legislative revolution and consummate justice--were all issued by presidential decrees, notwithstanding the fact that the People's Assembly did convene its ordinary session and that they were in violation of clear constitutional articles vesting in the president of the republic extraordinary legislative powers in emergency and important situations and in the event that the assembly does not convene.

All establishments--the cabinet, the People's Assembly and the Socialist Union's leader--have become powerless paper institutions comprised of some corrupt and depraved elements who stand to gain from the continuation of the

present regime or who are carried away with power and influence or have lost their patriotism and their courage to stand up to oppression, dictatorship and subjugation of the poor people. Likewise, the information media has become trumpets ringing out slogans of support, blessing, misinformation, and embellishment of every disaster or individual decision issued by Numayri to make them sound sincere and look like what the people have been wanting and hoping for for many years.

The government crisis reached such alarming proportions in recent days that the country has become totally isolated. It has brought on a total economic crash and a seizure of freedoms, the sovereignty of the law and the independence of the judiciary, as well as the dismemberment of national unity, threatening a crushing civil war and the secession of southern Sudan. In this area, Numayri violated the constitution when he proclaimed the partition of the southern region into three regions, despite the clear provision in the Addis Ababa Agreement and the permanent constitution that guarantee regional autonomy for the south and provides clear stipulations for its amendment. But Numayri does not take notice of that nor does he care about violating the constitution so long as he becomes the sole legislative, executive and judicial power in the country. Here is the president, the leader who wishes to become the Commander of the Faithful, violating the constitution which he took an oath to honor, breaking his oath, he who is the anticipated caliph! Also, Numayri confirmed in his recent press interview with AKHBAR AL-YAWM that "I say in all honesty that the application of the Shari'ah in the Sudan has been my goal ever since the outbreak of the revolution in 1969!" If he says "in all honesty" that he has worked for the application of the Shari'ah ever since May 1969, what has the commander of the faithful done during those 15 years? Once again he says in this connection that the decision to declare a state of emergency was not an individual or dictatorial one, but "we declared it" through the constitution and the People's Assembly authorized its continuance. True, the People's Assembly did authorize the declaration, but what else could it do but follow the example of all the other regime's paper establishments. And about the decision not being an individual one, this is a matter best known to Numayri and his closest confidants. He had no intention of announcing it before his speech was broadcast on TV.

In the AKHBAR AL-YAWM [interview], Numayri went on about the treatment of non-Muslims under the Shari'ah, saying: "Islam guarantees the rights of Muslims and non-Muslims. Islam rejects religious coercion and the Islamic Shari'ah guarantees non-Muslims their status because we have ordered that they be left alone to practice their religions." This when Numayri's courts are persisting in their torture of Christians and non-Muslim prisoners on the charge of possessing or drinking alcoholic beverages. The case of the Italian Catholic priest is still fresh in the minds of people. Numayri applied the limits of the Islamic Shari'ah to him and he was flogged.

The anti-regime opposition resorted to several attempts to bring an end to his rule, but they were not destined to succeed because of the opposition's disunity and failure to agree on a unified alternate formula to replace the Numayri regime. The armed forces likewise undertook attempts to overthrow the regime through the army, but they too failed for similar reasons. Numayri

bore down on them, executing dozens of army officers and enlisted men, throwing hundreds in jail and retiring thousands more.

All this notwithstanding, the Sudanese opposition, composed of political parties, union and professional groups and national elements, including some regular army personnel, has begun to unify its ranks and to coordinate its steps and programs to work for the country's salvation from ruin and crushing collapse to which the Numayri regime is leading it. This was initiated with a wave of strikes and political and demanded resignations that have escalated in recent days to include agronomists, judges and lawyers last year and the doctors' strike and their collective resignation this year, in addition to the strikes by accountants and cashiers and the planned strike by engineers, policemen and other groups who have prepared for union action against regime practices, despite the threat of prosecution on charges punishable by death under Numayri's emergency laws.

In the face of this anti-regime current, there was little room left for Numayri and his Muslim Brotherhood and depraved partners to maneuver to stay in power. They lost ground before the resurgence of the national movement and the start of the opposition march. Numayri declared in September 1983, the application of the Islamic Shari'ah, addressing the nation behind Islam's veil and tolerance, taking into consideration the rights of minorities and non-Muslims, according to him, in observance of Islamic teachings and defense of national unity.

Just 6 months after that declaration, Numayri realized that the slogan of applying the Shari'ah did not make him the greatest hero and did not diminish peoples' displeasure with him, nor did it arrest the opposition current.

Thus, he became frantic, threatening the Sudanese people not to force him to "adopt steps harmful to the entire Sudanese population," as the president of the republic put it in a message via the mass media. Then, last 29 April, Numayri declared a state of emergency throughout the country under the slogan of applying the Islamic Shari'ah and uprooting corruption.

Immediately thereafter, Numayri suspended a good number of constitutional articles pertaining to the sovereignty of the law and the freedom of the individual, giving himself free rein to form emergency courts to hold trials under extraordinary proceedings without the right of counsel and appeal and with immediate execution of their judgments.

After that, the country was exposed to an unprecedented state of terror and aggression, during which some strange practices against the Sudanese people and their customs and heritage emerged. There were arrests, searches, violations of the sanctity of the home and defamation and libel of people via the mass media before bringing them to trial. The emergency courts excelled in presenting one example of injustice and tyranny after another. And, in the name of religion and Islam, no one is safe any more from the oppression of the emergency men and Numayri's thugs. Many are being subjected to trials and indictments for actions that do not constitute a crime. No one can

guarantee the safety of his actions or the security of his home or the sanctity of his family and honor from the tyranny, terror, torture and sick defamations of the trashy information agencies which have excelled in all of this. The emergency regime has distorted Islam's tolerance and sense of justice. The well-known religious doctrine, "they averted legal punishment by judicial error," has been turned around to "they enforced legal punishment by judicial error," thus fulfilling Numayri's promise and realizing his goal when he said that he may be forced "to adopt steps harmful to the entire Sudanese population." This is not strange since Numayri also said during the 25 May revolution celebrations that he knew that Islam was a religion of tolerance, peace and justice, and Muslims should not be spied upon, but he went on to say: "As for me, I will rule you by this bad law!" pointing to the practice of his regime during the emergency. He pledged and threatened to jump over walls and pursue the citizens in their homes and wherever they may be found.

These insane practices enraged the entire Sudanese population, particularly the traditional religious and spiritual leaders, who condemned these shameful practices and terrorist tactics which are no more than a distortion of Islam and the Shari'ah that has nothing whatsoever to do with religion or the Islamic Shari'ah.

This notwithstanding, Numayri is proceeding with his amendment of the constitution to create an Islamic Sudanese republic, in which he will be the leader of the faithful, to crystallize the absolute image of his way of rule that what he says is the word of God and the order of religion. Naturally, the term of the commander of the faithful ends with his death, for the spiritual leader, not the president of the republic, is elected after a certain period of time. Numayri openly indicated in his speech when he announced the state of emergency that he will carry out the mission unconcerned with the death of any Muslim, and if he dies, so what, for Muhammad has died "and Muhammad was but a prophet with no prophet before him." Thus, Numayri imagines himself the emissary of the divine providence with a message for Islam he carries to the Sudanese people through emergency laws, tyranny and terror. On this premise, he asked his followers to pay homage to him. So, in the tomb of the grandfather of one of his three spiritual advisors, who put in his head the Sufi doctrines which saw him as the caliph of Islam, his deputies, ministers and chief justice, as well as the Muslim Brotherhood Guide, pledged their allegiance to him, choosing for that the "eve of the middle of [the month of] Sha'ban" at the Shaykh Abu Qurun shrine in a village in the suburbs of Khartoum. Just as they saw in him the hope of Islam and religion, he saw in them righteousness and virtue. So he chose them for high positions and they became his senior advisors. One homage followed another, including the People's Assembly, the Socialist Union and all the branches of the armed forces and the labor, farmer, youth and women conferences.

Homage will go on until the constitution is amended and the commander of the faithful is proclaimed next September.

Indisputably, the great majority of the Sudanese people espouse the Islamic religion and practice its rites. They are a noble, peaceful and gentle people. Despite the existence of shortcomings and negativisms that can be found

elsewhere too, the application of the canonical law of Islam in Sudanese society does not call for what the Numayri regime has done. The realization of God's law and the Sunna of his Prophet must be through awareness, understanding, logical dialogue and gradual progress, starting with the creation of a true Islamic society via education, methodology and the molding of an Islamic rule, that is, a qualified, just and flawless ruler and aides, and the laying of constitutional, economic and social foundations to enforce the word of God, not by violence, injustice, tyranny and terror under an emergency law, the massacre of freedoms and the violation of the sacrosanct.

What is going on in the Sudan today is extremely dangerous and, if not checked, will lead the country to strife, ruin and destruction.

In the face of this, democratic and national elements in the Sudan have begun to pull together to work for the country's salvation from ruin, which is an inevitable consequence of economic bankruptcy, and a civil war and to restore respect to the establishments and freedom and dignity to the Sudanese people under the sovereignty of law.

In the face of all this, the Sudanese people are wondering about Egypt's position of support for the Numayri regime which is rejected by the Sudanese people, who have decided to get rid of him. How can Egypt, while proceeding towards democratic rule, freedom of political action, a multi-party system, parliamentary government and sovereignty of law, support an authoritarian rule that has the Sudanese people by the neck?

The Sudanese people are not asking the Egyptian government to offer a helping hand, either with men or weapons, to get rid of the oppressive regime because they can achieve their goals for themselves. But, just as you asked in your first article, the Sudanese people are asking today about how far the Egyptian government will go in its support of Numayri in the face of a popular stance aimed at liberating the country and leading it forward toward prosperity, freedom and justice under a democratic rule?

The Sudanese people place a historic responsibility on the Egyptian government and people to answer the question of the Sudanese citizen.

12502

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ISRAEL

WILNER ON CP FOREIGN, DOMESTIC POLICY VIEWS, ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Jun 84 p 5

[Interview with Meir Wilner, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, by A. Alekseyev and G. Musayelyan; Tel Aviv]

[Text] [Question] What is your opinion, Comrade Wilner, of the present foreign policy of Israel, and of its strategic alliance with the United States?

[Answer] I regard it as being anti-Israel, extremely reactionary, and directed against peace in the Near East and on the entire planet. Who could have imagined 36 years ago when our state was created that its government would conduct such a monstrous policy and serve the most extremist imperialist circles in the world.

The cornerstone of Israeli foreign policy is hatred for communism, for the Soviet Union, and for all progressive and anti-imperialist movements in the most diverse regions of the world. Since the strategic alliance between the United States and Israel is officially directed against the USSR, there are in fact no limits today in our country to anti-Soviet incitements. The Shamir cabinet is ready to render any, even the dirtiest, service to the American Administration in the conduct of its imperial course.

We resolutely stand for a fundamental change in this policy in favor of peace, national independence, and neutrality. Our communists are struggling against anti-Sovietism, and are bringing the truth to the masses about the policy of the USSR which is directed toward the good of all of the people of the region, including the Israeli and Palestinian peoples, and toward ensuring peace and security in the Near East and on the planet.

[Question] What can you say about your government's policy in the occupied Arab territories, and about the creation of more and more new settlements on the West Bank and in the Gaza sector?

[Answer] This is a policy of cruel oppression, and of the "creeping annexation" of all Palestinian lands. As for the Syrian Golan Heights and the Arab part of Jerusalem, their annexation has already been officially announced. This kind of policy blocks any road to a peaceful settlement, and gives rise

to unceasing bloodletting and wars. The "Likud" government which has been in power since 1977 is continuing and expanding the policy in the occupied territories of the "Maarakh" bloc which was previously in power.

Today there are around 30,000 Israeli settlers living in the occupied territories. From among them there are formed underground terrorist organizations which commit terrible crimes. Assassination attempts against the mayors of the Arab cities on the West Bank, the butchering of Palestinian students of the Islamic University in Hebron, and attempts to blow up Moslem holy places--mosques in the Arab part of Jerusalem and in other cities--all of this is the work of the hands of fascist thugs. Their last action was preparations to blow up five Arab buses in the Arab part of Jerusalem.

The crimes of the settlers are supplemented by the official terror of the authorities. The government of Israel is conducting a policy of colonial oppression in the occupied lands.

Under the pressure of public opinion, and in connection with early elections to the Knesset and an intensification of the internal struggle in the ruling elite, the authorities were compelled to arrest some members of the Jewish terrorist underground. After confessing during the course of the investigation to murders and other acts of violence carried out against the Palestinian population, they, however, showed no regret for what they had done. A number of political figures and rabbis openly supported the terrorists and publicly justified the crimes they had committed. Things went so far that a member of the government, the Minister for Science and Development Yuval Neeman publicly declared that the attempts on the lives of the mayors of the West Bank cities which had made them cripples had produced "positive results." And all of this is called democracy with us!

The goal of this kind of policy is clear. The official and unofficial terror is supposed to create intolerable conditions for the Palestinians, and to force them to leave their homeland. In this way the ruling circles hope to realize the Zionist slogan--"A Maximum of Territory and a Minimum of Arabs"--in all of the occupied lands.

It is clear that this course is dangerous not only for the Palestinians, but also for the Israelis themselves. An aggressive and annexationist policy whose goal is the destruction of the Palestinian people can lead in the future to a threat to the very future of Israel as a state in the Arab East. In our struggle against the policy of the ruling elite we are defending our true national interests.

[Question] What is the domestic situation in Israel, and what is the reason for the present early elections to the Knesset?

[Answer] At the present time the state is living through a political, economic, social, and moral crisis--the most serious in its history. The intervention in Lebanon which was unleashed by Israel and the United States was the first war which gave rise in the country to a mass protest movement. Its

horrors and victims, actions of genocide, its destructive consequences for the economy, and the decline of the country's prestige internationally--all of this opened the eyes of many people. However, the majority of Israelis still have not drawn the conclusions which ask to be drawn. It is still the captive of unreal conceptions and dangerous nationalistic illusions.

The failure of the Lebanese adventure and the social and economic crisis have led to the disintegration of the government coalition and the necessity for conducting early elections to the Knesset. Their results will, more than ever before, determine the future of our country.

According to their original plans, after the enslavement of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, the United States and Israel were supposed to spread the military actions to Syria and subordinate it to their dictate and compel it to break its ties with the USSR. However, the results turned out to be just the opposite. Relations between Moscow and Damascus have become even stronger. We believe that by giving their due to the courage and staunchness of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Lebanese patriotic forces in Syria, the decisive factor which is hindering an expansion of the war in the Near East is the position of the USSR.

The issue of the war in Lebanon and the country's social and economic problems are at the center of the election campaign. This aggression has led to the most negative consequences. According to incomplete data, up to the present day the costs of the intervention have already come to five billion dollars. Every additional day that our soldiers are in Lebanon costs enormous amounts of money.

The paradox of the present day consists in the fact that as the United States increases its "help" to Israel, the latter's economic situation worsens. To this should be added the expenditures for the creation of the settlements which in 1983 alone came to 600 million dollars. But this is by no means the only reason for the crisis. Another important factor is the class policy of the government of the "Likud" bloc which expresses the interests of big capital and of the military industrial complex which is closely connected with the petroleum and military industry monopolies of the United States. They are determining the domestic and foreign policy of our state.

Poverty is spreading and deepening in Israel, while its money-bags are getting even richer. They are shamelessly infringing upon the rights of hired workers, and also upon those of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. During the seven years that the "Likud" bloc has been in power prices have increased by 10,000 percent, that is, by 100 times! In 1984 inflation is expected to be at the level of 400 percent.

Yet, 77.5 percent of all of the appropriations in the state budget for the 1984-1985 fiscal year have been allotted for military needs and for the payment of interest on loans arising therefrom.

[Question] Tell us about the disposition of the country's political forces on the eve of the elections of 23 July and about the platform of the Communist Party of Israel.

[Answer] At the present elections more than 40 lists were put forward for registration. They consist above all of the "Likud" bloc which occupies the basic positions in the government. It also consists of the "Herut" Party which is still led by Begin and which was created on the basis of the right-wing terrorist organization, the "Irgun Tsvai Leumi," that existed during the time of the British mandate, and the Liberal Party--the expresser of the interests of the big bourgeoisie which also stands on the platform of the creation of a "Greater Israel."

The second largest election list was put forward by the "Maarakh" bloc--the largest opposition faction in today's Knesset. It contains the Labor Party (MAI) and the United Workers Party (Mapam).

Despite certain differences, from the political point of view there is no fundamental difference between the "Maarakh" and "Likud" blocs. On the key issues they occupy similar positions. There is the danger that after 23 July they will create a so-called government of national unity.

The elections will also be participated in by the remaining factions which are a part of the present Knesset, and also by a number of bourgeois and petty bourgeois and old and new small parties and groups. A new factor is the list of the former Minister of Defense E. Weizman who stands for the Camp David positions.

The Communist Party of Israel is participating in the elections, as in 1977 and 1981, within the framework of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equal Rights. It is the basic force in it. The Front contains the "Black Partners" organization--representatives of the poorest emigrants from the Asian and African countries,--the SHASIE--young representatives of the intelligentsia,--the Democratic Front of Nazareth, the Initiative Committee of Friends, and also local democratic fronts and representatives of local councils and individual Jewish and Arab progressive leaders.

In 1981 the Democratic Front for Peace and Equal Rights received 65,000 votes and put 4 deputies (out of 120) in the Knesset. We hope to strengthen our positions during the elections. I wish to note that our faction was the only one which in June 1982 voted against the war in Lebanon.

Our front's election platform emphasizes the necessity for a struggle to overthrow the "Likud" government the continuation of whose rule contains the danger of a new war against Syria, and the threat of fascism and of wider attacks on the interests and rights of the workers and the representatives of the middle strata.

But it is not only a matter of a change of government, but of a fundamental change in political policy which in essence is common to the "Likud" and the "Maarakh."

The program of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equal Rights points out the lessons of the Lebanese aggression: the Near Eastern conflict cannot be solved militarily, and every attempt to impose a "Pax Americana," that is, to spread American dominion to our region, is doomed to failure. On the basis of the real correlation of forces it can be said that the Arab-Israeli conflict can only be resolved as a result of international collective efforts which have to be undertaken by the USSR, United States, and other states, and the sides participating in the conflict, including, of course, Israel and the PLO which is the only legitimate representative of the Arab Palestinian people. An international conference on the Near East should be called.

The platform of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equal Rights consists of six basic sections. It includes a plan for a just peace between Israel and the Arab states, and an entire complex of socio-economic issues, including the abolishment of discrimination and national oppression.

The program of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equal Rights is the only real alternative to the traditional policy of the Zionist circles which are ruling in Israel. Only it is capable of leading the country out of the blind alley of endless wars and general crisis.

2959

CSO: 1807/236

WRITER UNDERLINES NEED FOR MORALITY, ETHICS IN BANKS

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 60, May 84 p 50

/Text/ Much talk is going on about the health and vigor of the banking sector in Lebanon, and doubts are being promoted about its good condition. The fact is that it is the sector that perseveres, in spite of the destruction of industry, the fragmentation of agriculture and trade and the suspension of tourist activity. It is the sector that perseveres in spite of the times we are living in, when the action of the "salt" has been suspended (the ruler is the salt of the earth), the country's productivity has regressed, and the law of the jungle has severed the ties between the land and the people. The banking sector still is the country's heart and pulse, pumping the wherewithal of life through its limbs, and it now binds people to their affairs, to the point where we could almost say that it to some extent has become a symbol of the unity of the nation and the rays of its presence abroad.

What is the secret of the banks in Lebanon? Where does the strength of this sector lie?

The subject of total deposits, total commitments, rates of liquidity and cover, the volume of private money and other accounting and financial indices is well known to everyone; it is a result, not a cause, and consequently cannot explain secrets or become a power.

The subject of the free economy, the absence of all restrictions on exchange and remittance activities and the commitment to bank secrecy is the exemplary legal framework for bank activity, where services can be secure without obstacles, thereby leading to the growth of the banking sector.

The secrets are in trust, and power also comes from that: the clients' trust in the institutions and the outer world's trust in the domestic world.

The link between clients and organizations is indeed a result of a dual trust: their trust in the organization as a strong unit and their trust in the sector as a sound overall body.

The relations between the outer and domestic world are also a result of a dual trust: trust in the organization as the entity directly involved, and trust in the sector as a whole since its soundness as a result comes from the soundness of the country.

What are the causes of this trust among the people, and how can it be furnished, so that it can become the secrets and the power, together, simultaneously?

In our heritage, the issue that has been raised has three dimensions: a moral dimension, a qualitative dimension, and an oversight dimension, in terms of rewards and punishment.

In reality, all bank operations are basically credit operations. Depositors have confidence in a bank, and the bank has confidence in persons benefiting from the facilities and services granted, whatever the nature of these facilities and services might be. Dealing with people's money and offering people services express, in reality, the function of the bank as an institution, and the conduct in the pursuit of this function expresses, in reality, the morality of the decisionmakers in it. The rule in this regard is that the people's money belongs to the people, and that the organization's profits return to them and to everything that helps their growth.

Concerning the basic banking function, people who are in charge of banks are subject to temptations of side deals related to the performance of services of marginal morality or legality which will have the effect of exposing the banking institution to uncalculated risks which lead to doubts and consequently an absence of trust. The deterrent in this, essentially, is the morality of the decisionmakers and the integrity of their conduct in carrying out their tasks.

The risks of the banking mission decline as the quality of banking decisions rises. That can come about only through the presence of expertise in the body of people in the bank, objective sovereignty of action, and maturity among the decisionmakers in it. The solidity of the bank and the solidity of the sector grow as a consequence of that, and this offers public opinion an atmosphere of confidence and faith.

Punishments and rewards constitute the scope of oversight in modern management concepts. It is well known that the instruments of such oversight exist in the bank, and through it, as an integrated unit, in the sector as a whole, through the person of the Society of Banks, and in the government with the function it pursues of watching vigilantly over people's public interests through the legislation, institutions and powers related to banking affairs in Lebanon.

Foremost among these institutions we might mention the Bank of Lebanon, which, since its establishment, every day, has been establishing stability and competence in the pursuit of its activity and the use of its powers.

However, if for one reason or another some flaws and blemishes appear from time to time in the Lebanese banking sector, or in one of its complex of institutions, that does not mean that the sector is in danger. It should not conceal the strength of this sector, which is embodied in its solidity and perseverance, in spite of the difficult, well known circumstances which have prevailed for 9 years, and that must not hide its positive side, embodied in the presence of absolute trust in it domestically and abroad, in view of the high level of management which leads it and the conduct it engages in through it, and in view of the competent persons who have become prominent in it, including those who are on a par with distinguished international bank management standards.

However, while the situation in the banking sector in Lebanon is this encouraging, one must point out that the great rapid growth in that sector dictates balanced growth, not to say more rapid, greater growth, in the agency which oversees it, especially in the Bank of Lebanon, because of the important role it plays. This growth must be in qualitative and quantitative terms, so that it can attract competent persons who are able to pursue their oversight function in a manner which will guarantee safety before the blemishes appear, so that the level will be in terms of leadership, not bureaucracy. When that is assured, and the "sword" of the state is assured, the blemishes will be an exceptional phenomenon, and the act of punishment will be imposed and available.

11887

CSO: 4404/523

STRUCTURAL, ADMINISTRATIVE DEFECTS OF BANKING SYSTEM REVIEWED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 60, Vol 6, May 84 pp 22-25

/Article by Ra'uf Abu Zaki: "Lebanon's Banks at the Test"/

/Text/ The First Phoenician Bank crisis has monopolized the attention of Lebanese financial and economic circles in the public and private sectors, in view of the time in which it took place (the peak of a severe security disruption at the start of March), the massive losses which occurred (325 million Lebanese pounds) and the serious negative repercussions which the bank incident might lead to on the other banks operating in Lebanon in the context of the complex circumstances.

Now that more than 2 months have elapsed since the incident occurred, one can say that the banking system in Lebanon has gone through an extremely serious "shakeout" and is on its way to passing this harsh test safely. This incident, in effect, came as a warning of the dangers that are threatening the banking system. Had it not been for the wisdom and speed with which the crisis was handled by the Bank of Lebanon and the Society of Banks of Lebanon, Lebanon would not have emerged safely from this shakeout. The crisis was dealt with in total calm and secrecy, which kept it from reaching the groups of people who had deposits in the banks at that time, as it was feared that an insane wave of withdrawals would take place, such as occurs, normally, in such cases.

In any event, the First Phoenician Bank episode and the circumstances which accompanied it and abundantly appeared in it, require that some basic observations and ideas be set out in the light of the report set out and published in this issue:

The Actual Condition of the Bank of Lebanon

1. The episode calls attention to the actual condition of the Bank of Lebanon: Is it able, in its present situation to cope with the burdens of the current stage, with the complexities and dangers inherent in it? The governor of the bank, Shaykh Michel al-Khuri, has specifically proved his sagacity and boldness in the way he addressed himself to the crisis, indeed

through the way he exercised his responsibilities during the recent years of the war, but the problem is that the man is now almost alone in the bank--that is, he is without deputy governors and many managers and technical personnel, and on top of that the former minister of finance, Eng 'Adil Hamiyah, has resigned. Indeed the governor himself, for a period, was living in a state of suspense over /his/ fate, after word had circulated that there was a desire on the part of higher authorities to appoint a new governor.

In addition, the man faced many attacks, most of which consisted of severe reactions that arose from the nature of the reactions of the parties to the conflict in Lebanon. To all this one must add the unsatisfactory political and security climate. In the context of all these conditions, the man managed to play his role competently, but it is no longer likely that the state of the Bank of Lebanon will continue as it is. Responsibilities, in the current stage, are great--very great. Had the Bank of Lebanon been in a better technical and administrative situation, it would most likely have been able to remedy the First Phoenician Bank situation before the crisis got out of hand.

A comparison of the Bank of Lebanon's position regarding the recent crisis with its position on the Intra Bank crisis toward the end of 1966, that is, about 18 years ago, indicates the extent of the development which has occurred in the bank's mentality. The fact is that if the Bank of Lebanon had dealt with Intra Bank as it did with the First Phoenician crisis, the former would not have faced collapse under the burden of a severe liquidity squeeze. One should bear in mind that the state of Intrabank was much better than that of First Phoenician, because the Lebanese government is still burdened with the legacy of Intra. Of course, the issue at that time was not just a bank crisis so much as it involved factors and considerations which there is no need to get into here.

Where Is the Committee of Bank Oversight?

2. The incident raises the state of the Bank of Lebanon's Committee of Bank Oversight. Most overseers have wondered about the state of this committee and its role and responsibilities, since the function of the committee is to attend to crisis and remedy ailments before they get out of hand. It is well known that changes occurred in this committee about a year ago when its former chairman, Mr Fu'ad al-Singarah, was "exiled" and not appointed, exclusively among the other members of the committee, and Dr Walid Naja was appointed as his replacement. Everyone remembers the shock with which this replacement was greeted, prompting the governor of the Bank of Lebanon at that time to submit his resignation in protest. Between the departure of a chairman who had been tested in oversight activity for a number of years and a new chairman who came in to begin the test, there was obvious confusion in the committee's activity, especially since the matter was not confined to a change in chairmen but went beyond that to the resignation of a number of senior committee employees themselves, for various material and psychological considerations. After a fairly short period, the committee lost one of its

most prominent personnel, Mr Nasim Saliba, who was appointed chairman of the Lebanon Finance Company. The committee suffers, basically, from its weak administrative and technical structure, which is the result of the small number of its personnel. Then the change occurred, and this was followed by a mass departure which made matters worse. There is no doubt that the change in chairmanship of the Oversight Committee occurred under the influence of considerations which had no connection with the soundness of the banking sector.

In addition to that, there is the Security climate, which does not help the committee--any committee--work normally and effectively.

On top of that, there is a deficiency in legislation which prevents the Bank of Lebanon as a whole (including the Oversight Committee) from performing an effective role, especially in mastering any problem a given bank might face. Numerous attempts have been made to introduce amendments to the current Law on Money and Lending, without results, for considerations there is no room to mention here.

Once again, we wonder--has the Oversight Committee played its requisite role as far as the First Phoenician Bank goes, before this crisis explodes? This is based on the premise that the committee's task is not to put out fires but to prevent them from breaking out. We do not have enough data to help give an objective answer, and committee sources justify their position by saying that the methods to which the bank management has resorted are of the kind that is difficult to control. This justification is a danger in itself, since it means, implicitly, that the committee's inability to carry out its basic activity, which, as we have said, is to prevent the outbreak of fire, is to be taken for granted, and the Oversight Committee must not be the last to know.

The Actual State of the Banking Sector

3. The incident calls attention to the actual state of the banking sector in Lebanon: is it sound and vigorous? Is the banking structure sound? Are banks facing critical situations? Is it the new banks that are facing difficulties? All these, and other, questions, have been raised in Lebanese and foreign financial and banking circles. The policy of acting like an ostrich is not as effective, in their case, as confrontation of reality with tranquility and objectivity.

A. The answer to some of these questions appeared previously, in the last issue, with the statement that the Lebanese banking sector is still working, although more than 9 years of war have elapsed in Lebanon. An incident with a specific relatively small bank cannot affect the condition of this sector, which has acquired exceptional immunity against events and rumors. However, none of this means that the banks in Lebanon are not staggering under the burden of events and that they are not harmed by them and by their accumulated effects, the large banks among them more than the small ones. Indeed,

there is a real crisis in the banking structure with the expansion in lending, now that many borrowers have been affected and extremely damaged by events. There is a crisis of management and a crisis of bank personnel in many banks, not to speak of the presence of a rampant crisis of values.

No one will deny that the various sectors of the Lebanese economy have been affected by the circumstances of war. All the negative repercussions of the war on organizations come together and rise to prominence in the context of bank activity. The greater threat to the banks is the borrowers' inability to pay part or all of their loans, but the total loans given to the private sector account for no more than one third of existing financial resources, and the loans granted to the government are liquidity loans. Therefore, the banking problem is not as serious as some people make it out to be. Rather, the more important, serious problem is in the economic situation.

The banking mechanism is not in serious danger. The crisis-ridden economic situation is the source of the danger. This is all evident once again, in the condition of the Lebanese pound, which is continuing to lose value. Thus, the problem is more one of economy than banks. The danger is economic more than financial. What is required is a rapid remedy to the economic situation, even in the context of the crisis-ridden political situation--even in the context of the geographic and demographic fragmentation which has occurred, since no one has an interest in the occurrence of an economic collapse, and consequently a financial and banking collapse. The "warlords" will find themselves compelled to remedy the situation in the general context or in the context of their regions, because they are not able themselves to survive in a deteriorated, paralyzed economic and social situation.

The New Banks

B. Some people are pleased to tabulate this bank crisis on the basis of the new banks, and they try to make these banks responsible for all the negative features that have occurred in the banking sector. There is much incrimination in this. There are new banks that are sound and follow banking principles more than many old ones. The issue is not one of old or new banks, or large or small ones, so much as one of mentalities and the work methods among people who have power in the banking institutions. Power over money is an extremely delicate and serious matter. If Wajdi Mu'awwad, for instance, belongs to the generation of new bankers, and if the man erred in his banking methods, this does not mean that all new bankers err and that all old ones are right; otherwise, how could one explain that the old, deeply-rooted banks proceeded to grant the First Phoenician Bank relatively large facilities, when it was a fledgling bank with new management, bearing in mind that this bank conduct to a large extent helped Mu'awwad continue in the area of granting facilities which were not carefully studied and were hedged about with many risks? This point, specifically, is now the object of legal study, aimed at getting these banks to share in the responsibility.

C. However, what happened in the First Phoenician Bank, and some other new banks, undoubtedly raises the issue of the granting of permits to establish banks and the conditions imposed on the permit granting process--the moral conditions more than the material ones, and conditions of expertise more than of status and the availability of money. In our opinion, the matter is now more than one of granting permits for the establishment of new banks, and there now is pressing need to purify the banking sector of the many flaws that have afflicted it, in terms of individuals and organizations. Of course it will be very difficult, at this stage, before the government situation is stabilized, to carry out such an activity, especially since parasites, people committing violations and persons with flaws are all protecting themselves with armed forces which they bribe so that they will protect them. Here is where the difficulty of deciding before the government situation is stabilized and the reins of affairs are taken in hand arises.

The Bankers' Reputations

D. Nonetheless, the factors of time and accumulated experience are of utmost importance in various areas. Experience, based on principles, accumulated over many years, the fat ones and the lean ones, guarantees that persons and institutions become crystallized and that a tradition and work standards are created which will guarantee the survival of institutions and the continuation of their normal, sound growth. Experience generally comes about as the offspring of long bitter suffering; the people who have paid a price in cash and numbers and in terms of their nerves, ideas and pockets over many years and have learned things which will guarantee them better, more intelligent continuity.

In this area, the names of distinguished bankers in Lebanon who have been involved in activity for a long time and have formed and come to have local and international status over time leap to one's mind. They have passed through severe tests and have established great competence. Their presence, and their perseverance, constitute great capital for the country. The presence of negative features in the banking sector and in specific banks cannot hide the fact that the greatest buttress of the Lebanese banking sector over the years of the war lay in ethical factors. It is well known that the war has suspended the work of the courts to a large degree, and the banks no longer have legal protection in regaining their loans. Nonetheless, banking activity has remained constant and its basic focus has been mutual trust between banks and clients and mutual concern to strengthen the moral and ethical factor in the area of dealings. It is no small matter that the legal deterrents have been suspended and yet work continues as if everything was available. This phenomenon must be recorded and appreciated, on behalf of the Lebanese banking system, which has learned how to create alternate methods of protection and adjust to circumstances of which the least that can be said is that they are abnormal, inhuman, unstable and fraught with all sorts of risks.

The unfortunate thing is that some biased and superficial persons have decided to exploit the First Phoenician Bank incident, and other ones,

to spread about and promote a wave of rumors on the conditions of sound banking institutions in an attempt to shake them and disparage them. Observers have no doubt noticed how most banks, the large and the small, have transcended this wave of rumors, negating the effect of these rumors. Further negating them has been the banks' continuation of their activity in normal fashion. Some small, marginal banks which rumors dealt with are still operating as usual. Some of these banks have turned to the Bank of Lebanon to obtain exceptional facilities, which is a natural right of theirs and permissible for everyone, as long as it is within the limits of what the laws allow. It is not permissible to exploit this step to spread about a wave of rumors on these banks and defame them. The important thing is that the activity of these and other banks is still the proper use of facilities and the proper course of work in general may be guaranteed.

"Monopolizing" Loans

4. The state of the First Phoenician Bank raises the issue of the presence of specific individuals and groups who monopolize the resources of the banking sector and live a life of luxury through these resources at the expense of many social classes whose members need very few resources to operate their legitimate, lawful activity and to work--not to engage in speculation which is harmful to them and to the money and the economy, or to engage broadly in luxury and pomp at the expense of the needs of others. Most of this bank's major debtors are themselves debtors of other banks. This raises the question of justice in the distribution of loans and justice among individuals, groups and regions. It is no longer permissible to concentrate loans in limited, small, well known groups which monopolize the savings of ordinary citizens and the resources of the banking sector, in order to turn around and move this money abroad, engage in speculation or reap profits at the expense of all other social classes in the country. These groups benefit from broad expertise in the field of dealing with people who have control over money and have every form of power, benefiting from the absence of equitable legislation and capable, just authorities. The Governor of the Bank of Lebanon previously raised this point with the leaders of economic bodies when he pointed out that 10 percent of the creditors control about 50 percent of the total credits granted to the private sector.

The Administrative Problem in the Banks

5. The First Phoenician Bank problem raises the question of administration in banking institutions. There no doubt is a crisis in some of these institutions, especially those that are newly emerging. The phenomenon of attracting and enticing managers to banks in previous years, coupled with great financial inducements, is only a sign that there is a shortage of capable persons and consequently that a problem exists in this area. Let us take the problem of Wajdi Mu'awwad as an example. If we leave the matter of violations and excesses to the side, we find that a managerial and technical crisis was one of the most prominent causes that brought the bank to a dead end. That is what the committee pointed out in its report. The bank's activities grew at a speed which greatly exceeded the rate of growth in its management. Wajdi Mu'awwad's strength was his ability to pass through all doors and establish broad relations at the highest levels--otherwise,

how was it possible to obtain bank facilities not just from Lebanon but also from American institutions before a year had passed since the establishment of his bank? The man's basic mistake however, was that he did not immunize himself and submit to competent and adequate management, and he fell prey to a monstrous fate. If the man had been aware of the magnitude of the administrative problem he had, he would have known how to handle it. A disruption had arisen in the structure of the bank, an expansion of relations which greatly exceeded the development of management. Every disruption leads to specific results, and that is what happened.

Of course the First Phoenician Bank situation has its own characteristics. However, it remains, in part, a managerial problem. Many economic institutions inside and outside Lebanon suffer from a deficiency in this area. The growth which has occurred, especially in the context of the boom in oil revenues, created conditions and fantasies which are now in the course of disappearing. The non-oil countries have not been spared this wave. The attainment of easy and rapid wealth created fantasies among many people that they were geniuses and immune from error, that they had the secrets of success, and so forth. When matters started to return to their normal state, the fantasies started to fall by the wayside, one after the other; nothing will remain except that which is legitimate, legal, logical and sensible, since only what is right is ultimately proper. All economic and management sciences have been established on the foundation that resources are limited, that needs exceed resources and that the masters of science and expertise must adjust these limited resources to numerous, increasing needs. In any event, the First Phoenician Bank crisis has now given the members of the boards of directors of all banks an important lesson, since they are now more wary and alert, and membership in these boards is no longer merely a matter of prestige. There are responsibilities which one must aspire to and pay attention to, lest one learn a lesson through emotional reactions which lead to a type of fanaticism and burden the activities of the banks' management.

The crisis has also now given the management of other banks warnings and has prompted them to caution, alertness, and greater wariness and adherence to sound professional principles and the need to observe professional morality, which remains the basis of every action. Nonetheless, internal oversight needs external oversight, and therein lies the importance of the role of the Bank of Lebanon and the Oversight Committee--to suppress individual whims and protect them from themselves first of all, and consequently to protect the society as a whole from all extremism, excess or recalcitrance.

Last but not least, what is going on in the banks of Lebanon is still, in its gravity, much less than what is going on in many Arab countries. Indeed, what is going on in Lebanon, in spite of the harsh circumstances of the war, can hardly be compared with what has gone on and is going on in non-Arab countries which have chosen the free system as their platform. However, Lebanon's responsibility remains greater and more important, since its banking experience is relatively pioneering and advanced, and its circumstances conditions and resources do not allow it to make mistakes, especially when the mistakes concern the reputation of its banking sector, which, economically at least, represents the last line of defense.

NEWSPAPER BANNED FOR REPORTS ON CHITTAGONG

Press Note Issued

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 12 Jun 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Different political parties on Monday issued statements expressing concern over the banning of the publication of the Dainik Desh by a Government order and demanded immediate withdrawal of the ban on the daily.

In the statements the leaders of the political parties said that if the daily committed any wrong by publishing a certain news item for which the daily was banned the Government could go to a court of law. They said that Government should immediately withdraw the ban order on the daily to prove sincerity to its claim for restoration of democratic rights and freedom of the Press.

The statements were issued by Mr. Nazrul Islam Khan General Secretary of Workers Party Mr Abdur Razzak General Secretary of BAKSAL Mr Sirajul Hossain Khan, Chairman of Gonotantrik Party, Mr Siddiquir Rahman, First Secretary of Sramik Krishak Samajbadi Dal. Bangladesh People's League President Nur Mohammed Kazi, Mr Rezabuddola Chowdhury and Mr Wasimul Bari, President and General Secretary of Jatiyatabadi Samajik Sankshkritik Sangstha, Bangladesh Nezam-e-Islam Party (Khawza Sayeed Shah) and President and General Secretary of Dainik Desh Press workers' Union and General Employees Union.

Press Note

The Government has prohibited the publication of the "Dainik Desh" for "brazenly false and tendentious reporting" against a friendly country, reports BSS.

A Press Note issued on Monday by the Ministry of Home Affairs said, "the Dainik Desh" in its issue of June 9, 1984 carried a report captioned "Burma Bidrohira Ekhun Bangladesh Bhukhande" in which it was stated that some Burmese rebels had taken shelter in Bangladesh and were undergoing training here. The report is not only irresponsible but also deliberately designed to jeopardise the friendly relations which so happily exist between Bangladesh and Burma.

A rejoinder contradicting this baseless report was issued by the Bangladesh Rifles which was published in the same paper in its issue of June 10, 1984. A specific case has also been started against the reporter and 2 others under the normal law of the land. Keeping in view the serious damage caused maliciously to the good neighbourly relations between the two friendly countries by such brazenly false and tendentious reporting, the Government has been constrained to prohibit the publication of the said paper until further orders.

It may be recalled that some time back the publication of this paper had to be prohibited by the Government for publishing highly prejudicial reports. As the Government believes in the freedom of the Press and democratic ideals, the order of prohibition was later on withdrawn and the resumption of publication was allowed. It is most unfortunate that this good gesture of the Government has not produced any salutary effect. The paper is now encouraged to come out with totally baseless reports such as the one published in its issue of June 9, 1984 which has the potential of causing serious damage to the bilateral relations between two friendly countries.

The Government hopes that all concerned will appreciate the circumstances which necessitated the steps taken in this regard and extend fullest co-operation to the Government in safeguarding the interests of the country which are uppermost in the hearts of all Bangladeshis.

Human Rights Stand

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 17 Jun 84 pp 1, 8

[Excerpt] The Human Rights Society of Bangladesh held a meeting on Friday. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury, an eminent lawyer. The human Rights Society in a resolution said "it has come to the notice of the Committee on the basis of a complaint received from the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Dainik Desh, complaining that the Government of Bangladesh had proscribed by an order on the 10th of June 1984 the publication of any subsequent issue of the daily (Dainik Desh) on the allegation that the paper published in its issue of June 9, 1984 a prejudicial report captioned "Bidhrohira Ekhon Bangladesh Bhukhande" which is absolutely unfounded and likely to prejudice the maintenance of friendly relations between Bangladesh and Burma".

The order purports to have been passed in exercise of the powers conferred by clause c (c) of Sub-clause 1 (1) of Sec. 17 of the Special Powers Act, 1984 (Act No. 14 of 1974). The committee has carefully examined the provision of the law and have come to the conclusion that the Section does not empower the Government to ban the publication of paper altogether. Sub-clause 1 (1) c only provides for confiscation of document which contains prejudicial report or any subsequent issue containing prejudicial writing. The Committee said general order of banning a paper is absolutely not contemplated by the section.

When the Act was passed the fundamental rights was in force and as such a blanket provision could not be contemplated nor was it enacted interfering with the freedom of the Press indefinitely.

The Society therefore draws the attention of the Government to the provision of the law and requests it to withdraw the order of ban on the Dainik Desh

The Section describes for seizure of the issue which contains the prejudicial material or subsequent issues containing prejudicial writing but cannot ban all the issues of the paper.

Probe Into CHT Killings Stressed

The Human Rights Society at the same meeting took note of the Press reports from Chittagong Hill Tracts. The report said that over 100 people men women and children were murdered suddenly attacked by a mob alleged to be tribal people around with various kinds of weapons.

The Society had not been able to collect the details of the alleged occurrence and incidents and the lives lost and proper ties burnt nor is it aware of the subsequent steps taken by the Government in aid of the sufferers and steps taken to restore law and order and investigate the cause of this sad occurrence.

In the light of the Press report the Society found it essential that investigation needs to be made into the causes leading to this unfortunate occurrence. It therefore feels that it should depute some representatives of the Society to collect information and bring to the knowledge of the authorities the necessity for enquiry with a view to helping the sufferers and provide for their rehabilitation and remove the cause that might have led to this unfortunate event.

So that necessary administrative and other proper steps can be taken to prevent the recurrence of similar kind of incidents in future and establish confidence and harmony amongst all sections of the people of the area so that all can live like good neighbours

The sufferers need to be fully rehabilitated and their sufferings mitigated. If necessary permission of the executive authority of the area is given to the Society it would depute its members to visit the affected areas and collect information which would help the Government and society in their findings.

CSO: 4600/1978

APPROVAL, DETAILS OF ANNUAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN REPORTED

Plan Approved

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] The National Economic Council at its meeting held on Sunday at the CMLA's Secretariat with the President and CMLA. Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad in the chair approved the Annual Development Programme (ADP) for 1984-85 reports BSS.

In the light of availability of actual resources the size of the 1984-85 ADP has been set at Taka 3,895.99 crore which includes local currency component of Taka 2,049 crore and project aid of Taka 1,846.99 crore.

The rate of economic growth for the next fiscal year has been estimated at 5.5 per cent.

The allocations for the next fiscal year's ADP is 8.7 per cent more than the current year's revised ADP which stands at Taka 3,584.75 crore. The share of local currency and project aid for the next financial year's ADP have increased by six and 11.8 per cent respectively over the current year's lay-out.

The next year's ADP includes 71 technical assistance projects and 15 other projects will be implemented by different organisations from its own resources.

The NEC has also decided to make necessary allocations for project formulation for construction of a bridge over the river Jamuna. Recently a high-powered implementation committee has been constituted with the President and CMLA as Chairman for implementing the Jamuna bridge project.

Some of the notable aspects of the 1984-85 ADP are:

Allocations of Taka 423 crore in local currency for rapid development of the Upazilas in conformity with the administrative decentralisation programme of the Government. Out of this, Taka 1983 crore has been allocated for infra-structural development of the Zilas and Upazilas and Taka 230 crore for assisting development projects in the Upazilas.

Taka 9.15 crore has been allocated for assisting the development of the pourashavas

Taka 50 crore has been allocated for implementing the special development plan of Chittagong Hill Tracts area.

Three hundred seventy-five projects have been identified as core-priority projects in the 1984-85 ADP.

A lumpsum amount of Taka 40 crore including project aid of Taka 30 crore has been earmarked in addition to projects allocations for quicker and optimum utilisation of foreign technical assistance.

And, a lumpsum allocation of Taka 25 crore has been made in addition to project-wise Customs duties to meet the expenses arising out of any unexpected customs and excise duties during the implementation of the development projects

Details Given Earlier

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 14 Jun 48 pp 1, 8

[Article by Hasan Abul Quashem]

[Text] A 3895.99 crore taka Annual Development Plan for 1984-85 is awaiting approval of the National Economic Council (NEC).

Planning Ministry sources said, of the total size of the ADP, Tk 2049 crore will be in local currency and rest Tk 1846.99 crore in the form of project assistance.

The total size of the proposed ADB will stand at 724.31 million US dollars in terms of the exchange rate of dollar Tk. 25.5. There will be 914 projects under the ADP. Despite inclusion of these projects, main thrust of the programme will be laid on the core programme. Out of the 914 projects, 375 have been identified as priority projects under the core programme. Seventy one projects have been taken under the technical assistance programme and the rest 15 development projects will be implemented from the own resources of the executing agencies.

The total size of the programme is 8.7 per cent higher than the revised size of the current year's ADP. The rate of increase of the local currency and the project assistance will be 6 and 11.8 per cent respectively.

Besides, the district and the upazila administration will receive block allocation of Taka 423 crore for speedy development and implementation of the decentralization programme. The municipalities and Chittagong Hill Tracts will receive Tk 9.15 and Tk 50 crore respectively for implementing their development programmes. The total amount represents 20.65 per cent of the local currency components of the Annual Development Plan, about Taka 160 crore has been kept outside the ADP for implementing development programmes of different

organisations like Bangladesh Bank, Bangladesh Krishi Bank, Bangladesh Rural Development Board, Grameen Bank and other autonomous bodies. About 4.21 lakh tons of foodgrains worth about Tk 169.21 crore will be allocated under the Food for Works Programme during the next financial year.

The core programme will receive top priority and command sizeable ADP resources to the tune of Tk 2352.80 crore including project assistance of Tk 1323.40 crore representing 60.39 per cent of the total ADP resources and 73.77 per cent of the total sectoral allocations.

The ministries, divisions, and departments earlier proposed 200 new development projects for inclusion in the next year's ADP. The programming committee examined the different aspects of the projects and selected 72 new projects which were earlier deferred from implementation.

Importance was also laid in the agricultural sector in view of the growing demand of the foodgrains. The foodgrain production target has been set at 167 lacs ton for the next year. All necessary logistic services will be provided for realising the target or production in the agricultural sector.

The development of the physical infrastructure of the rural areas and the creation of manpower for increasing production and creating employment opportunities for improving standard of life is the underlying philosophy behind the Annual Development Programme.

CSO: 4600/1983

REPORTAGE ON FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO GDR

7 Jun Activities

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 8 Jun 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] BERLIN, June 7 -- Official talks between Bangladesh and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) began here yesterday, reports BSS.

Foreign Minister Mr. A.R. Shamsud Doha, and his GDR counterpart Mr. Oskar Fischer led their respective sides at the talks.

During the meeting the two sides discussed a wide range of subjects of mutual interest including the bilateral economic cooperation.

Earlier, Mr. Doha placed wreaths at the memorial for victims of fascism and militarism.

The Foreign Minister Mr. A.R. Shamsud Doha, said here last night that development of bilateral relations among world nations was both political and economic imperatives for progress.

He said that Bangladesh and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) had an extensive record of fruitful bilateral cooperation in the past.

He was speaking at a dinner hosted by his GDR counterpart, Mr. Oskar Fischer, last night. A large number of high officials and elite of the party including politbureau member Mr. Kleiber were present.

Mr. Doha said the Bangladesh valued very deeply the friendship of GDR and recounted the relationship since Bangladesh emerged as a sovereign country.

The GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, in his speech, said that the spirit of solidarity and esteem remained the basic elements of relations between Bangladesh and GDR. He observed that this visit had given them an opportunity to discuss various issues and broaden the base of cooperation that would benefit both the peoples as well as serve peace throughout the world.

He expressed concern over the developing international situation which might affected the interest of both the people of Bangladesh and the GDR, and categorically declared that maintenance of peace was of paramount importance.

Mr. Fischer observed that material and financial resources now wasted should be used for economic and social development particularly in the developing countries.

The GDR Foreign Minister paid tributes to the contribution of Bangladesh for the Non-aligned Movement stating that "Your country holds an acknowledged place in the movement. He supported the proposal for making Indian Ocean a zone of peace and added that the scheduled conference on the Indian Ocean should be held in Colombo as early as possible.

Talks with Stoph

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 9 Jun 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] BERLIN, June 8 --Foreign Minister Mr A R Shamsud Doha who is now in GDR on a three-day official visit called on Prime Minister Willi Stoph member of the Political Bureau of the Central committee of the party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers yesterday afternoon. The talks lasted about an hour and covered international and European issues, reports BSS.

He informed the Prime Minister about the reform measures of General Ershad's Government for economic and social development of the country and efforts for early restoration of democracy. He told Mr. Stoph that the prime objective of Bangladesh's foreign policy was to create an atmosphere of peace, stability and cooperation. In this context Mr Doha explained the aims and objectives of the South Asian Regional Cooperation.

Both the leaders agreed on the need for frequent visits of officials and other delegations to forge a common perception of bilateral, regional and international matters.

Earlier, the Foreign Minister held fruitful talks with Mr. Horst Soelle Minister for Foreign Trade of the German Democratic Republic on expansion of bilateral trade between the two countries.

The Bangladesh Foreign Minister Mr. A.R. Sham-ud-Doha now in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) on an official visit called on the Lord Mayor of the Berlin city, Mr. Erhard Karack on Thursday and discussed with him matters of mutual interests.

Later the Foreign Minister visited the Pergamum Museum and other historic places in the city.

Two Agreements Signed

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Jun 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] BERLIN, June 9 --Bangladesh and German Democratic Republic (GDR) signed here yesterday two separate agreements for increasing bilateral cooperation in the fields of science and culture and sound broadcasting, reports BSS.

The visiting Bangladesh Foreign Minister, Mr A.R. Shams-ud-Doha, and his GDR counterpart Mr Oskar Fischer signed the agreement on an executive programme on cultural and scientific cooperation for 1984-85.

The programme envisages visits of scientists, exchange of scientific literatures, visits of study groups, participations in the Leipzig fair, medical training and management in public health and other similar activities.

The other agreement on cooperation in sound broadcasting was signed by Bangladesh ambassador to GDR State Committee of Television, Mr Heina Adameck and Chairman of GDR State Broadcasting, Mr Achin Becker on behalf of their respective countries.

Under the agreement, there would be exchange of visits at expert level between the two countries, training of media personnel and exchange of radio and television programmes.

Meanwhile Bangladesh and the German Democratic Republic discussed a wide range of subjects including bilateral matters, and regional and international issues at the second round of official talks between the two countries held here yesterday.

The visiting Bangladesh Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. Shams-ud Doha, and his GDR counterpart, Mr. Oskar Fischer, led their respective sides at the talks which lasted 30 minutes.

During the talks, Mr. Doha highlighted the Bangladesh's efforts for peace, unity and friendship and particularly its initiative to forge greater cooperation among the countries of the South Asian region.

He recalled the visit of former GDR Foreign Minister Otto Winzer to Dhaka immediately after independence and stated that the existing cordial relations of the two countries were mutually beneficial.

The two foreign Ministers expressed concern over the deteriorating international situation and escalating arms race. Both of them emphasised the need for frequent exchange of visits of leaders and officials of the two countries for mutual benefit and understanding.

Return to Dhaka

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 12 Jun 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. Shams-ud-Doha, said in Dhaka on Monday that Bangladesh and German Democratic Republic (GDR) had decided to enter into next barter agreement between the two countries, reports BSS.

The date for signing the agreement would be decided later, he told newsmen at the airport on his return from a three-day official visit to GDR.

Mr. Doha said tht he had "extremely fruitful and cordial" talks with the GDR President Erich Honecker Prime Minister Will Stoph, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, and Foreign Trade Minister Horst Soellee.

The Foreign Minister pointed out that he held two rounds of talks with his GDR counterpart Oskar Fischer and discussed bilateral matters and regional and international issues.

Mr. Doha said he had handed over a letter of President Ershad to President Honecker which contained the message of goodwill and friendship.

He said the GDR President expressed interest in making investment in agriculture and education sectors in Bangladesh.

During the visit of the Foreign Minister Bangladesh and GDR signed three separate agreements for promoting bilateral cooperation. The agreements signed are an executive programme of scientific and cultural cooperation in the field of sound broadcasting and cooperation in the field of television.

CSO: 4600/1978

CHANGE SEEN IN BANGLADESH-SOVIET RELATIONS

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 15 Jun 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Amit Chowdhury]

[Text] Even 15 days after the cabinet reshuffle which sent Aminur Rahman Shams-ud-Doha from foreign to flood control ministry, President Lt. General H.M. Ershad is still searching for a new foreign minister.

According to reliable sources the only person who was offered the foreign ministry was Janadal leader Mizanur Rahman Choudhury who has politely declined. The president obviously made the offer to Mr. Choudhury to appease the latter who felt frustrated after the appointment of Ataur Rahman Khan as Prime Minister and of stripping him of even the position of acting chairman of Janadal.

Although speculations in the foreign office say the ministership will go to some senior diplomat now posted abroad, nothing has yet been finalised.

Mr. Doha who, felt terribly disappointed at the change of portfolio, is learnt to be not hiding his frustrations.

He returned from a scheduled trip from GDR, possibly the last of his frequent sojourns as Foreign Minister, last week but has not yet taken over his new ministry.

Mr. Doha's East German visit, however, is considered as very significant in the diplomatic corcle as it came in the wake of Bangladesh's almost frantic efforts to normalise ties with the Soviet Union for last few months. Bangladesh-Soviet ties hit the lowest in November-December last year when over a dozen Soviet diplomats and other staff members were ousted from Dhaka and Chittagong on charges of activities other than diplomatic.

The move by the military government was lauded by the western Press, and even President Ershad at the time said his government has definite evidences to prove the charges against the Soviet diplomats being involved in the country's internal affairs.

New Situation

But by February this year things changed, and the government started sounding the Soviets for improving the ties. After a series of friendly moves, including the appointment of a former minister as ambassador, Moscow started responding slowly. Even without renewing the bilateral trade protocol, trade transactions resumed.

Bangladesh has allowed entry of some new Soviet diplomats to fill in the ousted positions which include a consul general at its Chittagong office and a military attache. With nearly 40 diplomats and over 100 non-diplomatic staff, the Soviet union maintains the largest foreign embassy in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh has also agreed to re-open the Soviet Cultural Centre which was ordered closed along with the expelling of the diplomats, it is gathered. Mr Doha, only nine hours before he was allotted flood control ministry, said, "Bangladesh and Soviet ties were never so good as these are now."

Reliable sources said two considerations prompted Ershad administration to seek improved ties with the Soviets. One is a strong internal political pressure, and the other is a desire to influence India on some bilateral issues like barbed-wire fencing through Moscow.

CSO: 4600/1984

MESSAGE STRESSES SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Jun 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] President Lt. Gen. H.M. Ershad on Thursday called upon the international community to continue to denounce the South African regime for deceitfulness and uphold the cause of those suffering the indignity of racial discrimination and constant repression, reports BSS.

In a message on the occasion of the observance of International Day of Solidarity day with the struggling people of South Africa on June 16, the President reiterated Bangladesh's total and unflinching solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination.

He said, "Our commitment on the question is firmly based on our unswerving adherence to the universal declaration of human rights of the peoples".

Gen. Ershad said that it was a blot on the conscious of international community that South Africa still continued its policy of apartheid with ever increasing degree.

The President said the system of apartheid struck at the very essence of human dignity and the international community could not remain indifferent to the ever increasing repressive policy of racist Pretoria regime.

President Ershad paid tributes to the vallant martyrs of Sharpeville and Soweto who had suffered anguish and pain and waged a relentless war against apartheid. "We salute those heroes who laid down their lives for the cause of human dignity and freedom" he said.

Gen. Ershad pointed out that the United Nations had repeatedly condemned the system of apartheid as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind.

He conveyed the deep appreciation of the government and the people of Bangladesh to the Chairman and members of the Special Committee against apartheid for their commendable efforts in projecting solidarity with the teeming struggling people of South Africa.

CSO: 4600/1981

INDIA RAISES FENCE BEFORE DEMARCATION COMPLETE

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 13 Jun 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Matiur Rahman]

[Text] India has undertaken its controversial scheme of barbed wire fencing along her border with Bangladesh before completely demarcating the common international boundary between them.

The two countries are yet to demarcate the remaining 127 miles of their land boundary and settle some of their disputes over the lands remaining in adverse possession to each other.

The remaining undemarcated boundary of 127 miles lies scattered with all the four surrounding Indian states--53 miles with West Bengal, 3 miles with Assam, 24 miles with Tripura and 47 miles with Mizoram.

Bangladesh and India so far demarcated 2447 miles of their land boundary out of the total 2574 miles since the demarcation started following the interdominion agreement of December 14, 1984.

Most of the demarcation of the land boundary with India was done during the Pakistan days when Bangladesh was her eastern wing.

After the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971, the demarcation of only 175 miles was done till 1974. On May 16, 1974, the Indo-Bangladesh land boundary agreement was signed by late Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The 1974-agreement provided that the map work of the remaining undemarcated boundary should be completed by December of the same year and the adverse possession of lands by the two countries be settled within next one year positively by December 31, 1975.

The demarcation work of land boundary with West Bengal, Assam, and Tripura has been carried out by the Land Records and Survey of both Bangladesh and India while the 188 miles boundary of hilly area and terrain with Mizoram are being demarcated by the survey of Bangladesh and the survey of India.

The survey of Bangladesh and the survey of India together demarcated so far 141 miles out of the total 188 miles border in hilly area and terrain with Mizoram by last month while the remaining 47 miles are expected to be done by May next year.

Meanwhile, the two countries have their lands in adverse possession to each other while there are lands in common possession of the both.

A total of 4103.5 acres of Bangladesh lands is in adverse possession of India while the latter has only 677 acres of land in adverse possession of Bangladesh. Besides, a total of 1446 acres landmass is in common possession of both the countries.

Again disputed lands of another 161 acres are occupied by both India and Bangladesh.

In this regard the demarcation of the two Bangladesh villages--Khudipara and Singipara in Dinajpur district bordering with the Coochbihar district of West Bengal state of India was carried out and concrete pillars were constructed in both the places in 1963 following an agreement between the land records and survey of Bangladesh and India.

Pakistan took physical possession of the two villages--Khudipara and Singipara by sending the then East Pakistan Rifles following talks between the former Pakistan Interior Minister Lt. General K M Sheikh and the then Indian Home Minister Swaran Singh in 1959.

But after emergence of Bangladesh, concrete pillars were found missing from both the villages and thus new demarcation is needed for the areas and new pillars be set up there.

Similarly Chandannagar in Sylhet district, another village of Bangladesh in the border with India's Tripura state was also demarcated earlier but now it remains under Indian possession.

Demarcation of Berubari and Dahagram and Angorpota are yet to be done along with a small patch of three mile border along Hilli.

The south Berubari belonged to Bangladesh following the Noon-Neburu agreement in late 50s but the 1974-agreement provided exchange of South Berubari to India for two enclaves--Dahagram and Angorpota along with Tin Bigha as corridor facilities which is yet to be implemented.

The survey officials could not demarcate the border of Dahagram and Angorpota because of corridor facilities. Despite the agreement signed in October 1982 during the visit of President CMLA General H.M. Ershad, India is yet to hand over the Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh.

Besides the land boundary, Bangladesh and India have got 113 miles 'fluid' boundary and the demarcation is decided along the midstream of the common border rivers flowing mainly through the Sylhet and Khulna districts.

PARTIES GROUP REVIEWS POLITICAL SITUATION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] A meeting of the liaison committee of 15-party and 7-party alliances held on Saturday reviewed the latest political situation obtaining in the country.

The meeting of the liaison committee of the two alliances expressed serious concern over the flood situation, price hike of essentials and deteriorating law order situation in the country.

The 15-party and 7-party alliances alleged that General Ershad in the face of the total people's opposition was still holding the post of the chief of the armed forces and has illegally formed his own political party "Janadal".

The meeting of the two alliances said that General Ershad declared Janadal as his own party and included Janadal members in the cabinet. They said that General Ershad had made the Government entirely a Janadal government. The alliances alleged that General Ershad had gone to the extent of involving Zonal and District Martial Law Administrators in the activities of Janadal and using the armed forces of the country for his own interest and dragged them to politics.

The meeting of the alliances termed the situation as "very dangerous" and warned that such activities of General Ershad would bring the armed forces face to face with the people. The two alliances reiterated the demand for transfer of power to the peoples' representatives through holding general election in the country by withdrawing Martial Law immediately.

The liaison committee will meet again within a few days.

CSO: 4600/1978

NEW SOVIET CONSUL ASSIGNED TO CHITTAGONG

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 18 Jun 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] CHITTAGONG, June 17--Mr K. Tschemohoenko a career diplomat has joined as Consul General of the Soviet Consulate in Chittagong on Friday. Before joining here he was posted in Pakistan.

Another diplomat whose name has not officially disclosed yet will join as Vice Consul.

Mr K Tschemoenko and two other diplomats arrived in Dhaka from Moscow on June 11. The posts of Consul General and the Vice Consul fell vacant when former Consul General K Groushetsky and Vice Consul V Metrrife left Bangladesh along with 12 other members of the Soviet embassy staff in two batches in last December and January following a request from Bangladesh to the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile the Soviet Consulate office in Chittagong has been renovated and an information room was set up for maintaining liaison.

It is learnt, the Consulate will start functioning from first of July.

The Chittagong Consulate office, situated on the hilltop at Khulsi, handles the imports of Soviet Embassy through the clearing and forwarding agent. The office was first opened in 1972 just after the liberation when the Soviet Union undertook massive operation to demine Chittagong port. A Soviet sailor. Redkin was killed during operation. The office, first used as liaison office for mine-sweeping operation was bought from a local owner. In 1976 the office was unilaterally upgraded to the Consulate office.

CSO: 4600/1985

LABOR MINISTER RETURNS FROM GENEVA ILO SESSION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Jun 84 p 8

[Text] Bangladesh has pleaded for a separate programme for the promotion of rights of the labourers and setting their standard in the Least Developed Countries, Labour and Manpower Minister Shah Moazzem Hossain said in Dhaka Monday.

Shah Moazzem, who returned from Geneva Monday morning after attending the 70th session of the International Labour Organisation told BSS: "We in the Least Developed Countries are more concerned about providing employment and training to the vast unemployed at this state than implementing all other ILO conventions".

Shah Moazzem who addressed the ILO session on June 12 said his proposal was widely acclaimed by the majority of the 150 member countries, particularly the least developed Third World countries.

He said that the recent steps taken by the Government under the leadership of President Ershad for the improvement of the conditions of the Bangladeshi labourers, which he explained at the conference, were appreciated by the ILO member countries.

During his stay in Geneva the Bangladesh Labour and Manpower Minister also addressed the conferences of the Non-Aligned countries and the Commonwealth countries and played an important role in pleading the causes of labour problems in the Third World countries.

Shah Moazzem Hossain said that he had also held bilateral discussion with the Labour Ministers of many countries and explored further possibilities of finding jobs for Bangladeshi people in the Middle East and Arab countries.

CSO: 4600/1986

DECLINE IN PER CAPITA FOOD AVAILABILITY DISCUSSED

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 22 Jun 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Hossain Khasru]

[Text] In per capita terms, the country's grain output or availability will record a decline over the current Second Five Year Plan which terminates in the coming fiscal year, 1984-85.

The recently-approved Tk. 38.96 billion public sector development programme known as Annual Development Programme (ADP) has set the target of foodgrain production at 16.7 million tons for the coming fiscal year. This implies a per capita daily availability of 15.07 oz of foodgrains in 1984-85, down by 0.73 oz from the level of 15.8 oz in 1979-80 when food production was 13.4 million tons.

However, if the population in 1984-85 exceeds the projected level in the revised Second Five Year Plan at 98.05 million for the year, the per capita grain availability may be further lower even if the new foodgrain output for the coming fiscal year is achieved.

The foodgrain production prospects as were assessed by the government only in May, '83 in the revised Second Five Year Plan SFYP after the much-trumpeted realistic review of the overall development performance and the resources availability position" have now clearly emerged as being a too-optimistic one.

The down-to-earth constraints have compelled the authorities to set the food-grain output target at a level lower by 0.8 million tons than 17.5 million tons targetted in the revised SFYP for 1984-85. And, the earlier foodgrain output target set in May, '83 at 17.5 million tons was meant for maintaining the per capita daily availability at 15.8 oz, same as in 1979/80.

Decline in Availability

The decline in per capita foodgrain availability under the new output target in 1984-85 will take place at a time when the establishment has been claiming the attainment of food self-sufficiency as early as possible "to save scarce foreign exchange and avoid people's suffering and discomfort" as one of its' primary-needs-oriented development goals".

The depressed level of per capita availability of foodgrains, the most basic need of the people, will mean a further deterioration in nutritional status. This is clearly so in view of the fact that the availability of enough food for a growing child to develop his or her physical and mental potential or for an ordinary worker or wage labourer to remain fully productive is one of the basic indicators about the nutritional state of a country's population.

The per capita food availability reflects here what the national average is but it certainly does not indicate whether an individual is adequately nourished or not. Nutritional adequacy assessment requires some knowledge about the distribution of national food supplies. And here, a lack of data on distribution makes it difficult to estimate the real extent of malnutrition, thus leaving the subject open to a continuing debate.

Difficult Estimate

The number of people suffering from chronic malnutrition, representing "that vast middle ground between those who are well nourished and those who are starving", is a difficult estimate for a Third World country like Bangladesh where poverty is endemic. Their numbers are indeed difficult to measure and hence easy to ignore.

About this question in particular, an Indian economist, Amartya Sen, in his book, 'How India is Doing?', has befittingly observed that the Indian government "has been able to ignore this endemic hunger because that hunger has neither led to run on the market and chaos, nor grown into an adequate famine with people dying of starvation. Persistent orderly hunger does not upset the system." The situation in Bangladesh precisely remains the same as what Mr Sen had noted about his country.

Notwithstanding the inadequacies of per capita foodgrain availability as the measure for the real extent of malnutrition in the absence of adequate matching data on distribution of food supplies, the deterioration in the overall availability of foodgrains in the context of a growing population is certainly reflective of a very critical situation in terms of pauperisation and quality of life for the teeming millions in the country.

When the per capita production, availability or supply of a very basic commodity like food is falling, the millions must consume less when some people consume more or the same amount of foodgrains as before. This is exactly the case that is prevailing in Bangladesh.

Meanwhile, the official assessment made only in March last about a 5.3 percent growth in the country's gross domestic product (GDP) in the outgoing year, 1983-84, will need to be adjusted downward in view of the damage wrought by recent successive floods in the foodcrop sector.

Unofficial circles maintain that even the preliminary official estimate about five lakh tons foodgrain loss would now lead to a sizeable reduction in GDP growth rate. Because, this will mean a 3.14 percent drop in food production from the mid-March estimated level of 15.9 million tons. And with about 40 percent of the GDP being derived from crops of which three-fourths comes from rice alone, the setbacks in foodcrop production owing to floods now would have a major adverse impact on overall economic growth process in the country.

STATISTICS SHOW OVERFISHING AFFECTION EEZ

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 15 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by K. M. Alam]

[Text] The exclusive economic zone (EEZ) of Bangladesh, which has been described as a gold mine for its shrimp resources, is gradually getting squeezed due to over fishing.

According to the statistics given in the 'monograph' published recently by the department of industries, a total of 140 trawlers have been sanctioned to operate in the EEZ of the country while no objection to allow another 23 trawlers has been issued. The sanctioned capacity of these 140 trawlers is 15,956 tons of shrimp per year and 81,000 tons of fish other than shrimp. However, experts believed that the actual capacity of these trawlers is double the sanctioned capacity.

The statistics showed that of the sanctioned trawlers, 90 including five owned by the Bangladesh Fisheries Development Corporation are currently operating in the EEZ of the country. The other sanctioned trawlers are expected to join the fleet soon.

It has been admitted in the 'monograph' of the department of industries that the shrimp ground in the EEZ in the Bay of Bengal is now squeezed to a narrow strip of 2000 to 3000 square nautical miles and a sustainable stock of only 2000 to 4000 tons of shrimp resources exist in the sea bed. It means that the sanctioned capacity of trawlers three is more than five times of the available resources and the actual effective capacity is more than 10 times of the sustainable stock of shrimp. The effective physical capacity of 90 trawlers presently engaged in fishing is 15000 to 18,000 tons, which is over six hundred per cent higher than the sustainable stock of shrimp.

Operation of such a large fleet of trawlers will, therefore, result in exhaustion of shrimp resources in the EEZ of the country. The process of exhaustion has already been started which is evident from statistics of the 'monograph' of the department of industries.

It showed that shrimp catch per day per vessel was 518 kilograms in 1979-80. It declined to 436 kg in 1980-81 and 368 kg in 1981-82. During the period

January-April this year, the average per day per vessel catch fell further to only 200 to 250 kg for new vessels while the catch was only 150 kg for second hand vessels.

Hire Charter Basis and Paye

Of the total 140 sanctioned trawlers, 30 trawlers were allowed on hire charter basis and 51 trawlers were permitted under Pay As You Earn scheme (PAYE). All the 30 trawlers under hire charter and 26 under PAYE are now operating in the EEZ. The remaining trawlers are owned by local entrepreneurs.

According to informed sources, all the 56 foreign trawlers now operating in the EEZ of Bangladesh are Thai trawlers which were permitted to operate in the Bay in 1981-82 under Thai-Bangladesh joint venture projects. The projects were subsequently cancelled in consideration of the disastrous effect on the marine resources of the country.

These trawlers have now been brought back to Bangladesh waters under PAYE and charter-hire schemes through third countries, namely Singapore and Malaysia.

Meanwhile, it is learnt that the foreign trawlers are operating in the EEZ of the country without any registration since January last. Under the existing laws, any vessel operating in Bangladesh waters are required to be registered with the Mercantile Marine Department.

The foreign trawlers will now have to be registered by June 30 next.

CSO: 4600/1984

CORRESPONDENT ANALYZES AIMS OF LEFTISTS

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 11 Jun 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Kazi Montu]

[Text] The leftist components of the 15-party and the 7-party alliances are manoeuvring to maintain the dominant political trend of the country in favour of a movement.

Most of them have already voiced a demand for lifting of Martial Law and transfer of power to a "caretaker" or a "civil interim" government in order to ensure "free and fair" parliamentary election.

But the demand has not been endorsed by the major democratic components of the two alliances, which are theoretically evaluated by them as bourgeois organisations. These democratic parties want the neutrality of this government for holding a fair election.

It is believed in the political circles that if the demand for a "caretaker" or an "interim" government can be made acceptable to the major democratic parties of the two alliances it will be possible to build up a fresh wave of movement in the country against this government by boycotting the parliamentary polls due to be held in the coming winter.

The leftist components of the 15-Party Alliance include two factions of Samyabadi Dal, Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB), Workers Party, Sramik-Krishak Samajbadi Dal, Majdoor Party, two factions of BSD, JSD, two factions of NAP and Ekota Party.

On the other hand, of the six components of the 7-party Alliance Biplobi Communist League, UPP Ganotantrik Party and NAP (Ali Ashraf) belong to the leftist camp.

While CPB, two factions of Samyabadi Dal, Workers Party, Biplobi Communist League, Majdoor Party and Sramik Krishak Samajbadi Dal claim themselves as parties of the 'proletariat class' (working class) JSD, UPP, two factions of BSD, NAP (Harun) NAP (Ali Ashraf) and Ekota Party are described as "leftist democratic organisations."

Earlier Biplobi Communist League, two factions of Samyabadi Dal, Majdoor Party and Workers' Party were pursuing "revolutionary line of politics."

On the other hand, CPB has been constantly trying to tip the scale of the democratic politics of the country in favour of their control on it by appeasing a certain section of the so-called bourgeois class which constitutes the main forces of democratic politics.

Those leftist parties which have come away from revolutionary politics to associate themselves with the mainstream of politics appear to have low-keyed their internal conflicts.

They used to uphold the "Mao Thoughts" in the past, but in the meantime, most of them have repudiated Mao Thoughts either totally or partially. Some of them have also revised their hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union.

Consequently, CPB which enjoys official blessing of the Soviet Communist Party has been living together with them.

CPB hardened its attitude towards this Government after the official decision to expel a number of Soviet diplomats from the country on "specific charges" of their involvement in the incident of November 28 that took place last year.

CPB is the most organised among the leftist political parties having a network of educated wholetime cadres who are regularly paid on the monthly basis in different parts of the country. Besides, it commands influence over NAP (Harun), NAP (Muzaffar) and Ekota Party.

It is now active to win over Mohammad Toaha, a former anti-Soviet radical communist of the country. He was invited to the recently-held conference of the Soviet-sponsored Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council in Algiers.

However, he declined to attend the conference on the health ground and Nazrul Islam of the Workers' Party was later chosen in his place.

The leftist forces in the two alliances succeeded in creating a situation of confrontation between the supporters of the two alliances and the Government on the issue of upazila election.

While they were briskly preparing themselves to resist the upazila election in the pockets of their respective influence the two major political parties--Awami League and BNP (Khaleda) were also concerned like the Government about its consequences. And hence, both the parties put pressure on the Government to postpone the upazila election.

After the postponement of the upazila election upon insistence of the two major democratic parties the two alliances participated in dialogue with the Government. Even during the dialogue some leftist leaders belonging to the alliances predicted failure of the dialogue.

At a stage of the movement the leftist forces in the two alliances were agog to directly involve the workers in the movement and as a result, a five-point charter of demands was worked out by a front of 14 workers' federations.

The workers successfully observed strike in different organisations on April 18 almost paralysed the metropolitan life also.

Encouraged by this success they decided to observe strike at a stretch for 48 hours on May 22 and 23. The major democratic parties which were also supporting the movement of the strikers in the meeting of their top-level committees expressed concern at the intensification of the workers' movement.

Some leaders of both the Awami League and the BNP (Khaleda) made informal contacts with the Government functionaries to come to terms with the workers to put an end to their movement.

There was a campaign in the air during the workers movement that it is CPB which was playing the pivotal role in it. Their hold on the transport workers, organisational network and economic solvency gave them an opportunity to assert their supremacy in the movement of the workers.

Currently, the leftist forces are active to build a movement on the issue of price-hike alongside the political demands for lifting of martial law, polls date and neutral government. They are also keeping watch on the maneuverings of the Awami League and the BNP.

CSO: 4600/1977

SPECIAL UPLIFT PLAN FOR CHITTAGONG HILLS APPROVED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 11 Jun 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] CHITTAGONG, June 10--The Chittagong Hill Tract Development Board has worked out a multi-sectoral five-year special programme for overall development of hilly areas and condition of its people at a total cost of Taka 263.13 crore.

According to Chittagong Divisional Commissioner office, a recent cabinet meeting headed by a DCMLA approved this broad based development programme for Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The Chittagong Hill Tract Development Board will take up the implementation of this five-year development programme from July this year. The work under this programme will be completed phase by phase.

The Government have already released Taka two crore in current year works under this programme.

Besides the Government's own fund the Asian Development Bank and UNDP will give financial support and technical assistance for implementation of this programme.

Of the total Taka 263.13 crore programme, Taka 63.17 crore earmarked for agriculture water development and rural electrification works. Taka 40.91 crore for industry and power distribution works. Taka 144 crore for physical infra-structural development works and Taka 15.05 crore for socio-economic development works.

The board under this programme will set up a broad based infra-structure for the long term rehabilitation of the people of Chittagong Hill Tracts district. A total of 4000 tribal families will be directly beneficiaries of this programme.

The development programme envisage of giving six acres of land for each hilly family to undertake horticulture rubber plantation and construction of houses. The rehabilitated families will continue to receive technical and other assistance for the first three years of their rehabilitation.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board under this programme will afforest over 18,000 acres of fallow land in Changi Valley, construct 42 miles of road expand health and family planning services among rehabilitated families set up telecommunication network and develop cottage and rural industries.

CSO: 4600/1976

BACKGROUND GIVEN FOR 'ORGY' IN CHITTAGONG HILLS

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 8 Jun 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Mahmud Rashid]

[Text] Three non-tribal settlements--Bhushanchhara, Gorasthan and Chhoto Harina--under Barkal upazilla in Chittagong Hill Tracts were turned into scenes of gruesome carnage at dawn on May 31 as the rebel tribals, identified as the "Shanti Bahini" (Peace Force), swooped on the non-tribal settlers of these areas and perpetrated an orgy of killing and arson.

They killed 77 persons, including 32 women and 20 children, the injured more than 100 others by using both automatic and lethal country-made weapons. Besides, 29 non-tribal settlers are still missing.

Many injured persons were taken to the Combined Military Hospital at Chittagong for treatment.

A heavily armed squad of the so-called Shanti Bahini, in collaboration with the local tribesmen, attacked Gorasthan at 4-30 a.m., Bhushanchhara at 5-15 a.m. and Chhoto Harina at 6-15 a.m. The orgy of killing and arson continued till 8 a.m.

When the indiscriminate killing of the non-tribal-settlers and arson by the armed tribal insurgents were taking place in the three non-tribal settlements, the BDR personnel, posted at a camp hardly 250 yards from the Bhushanchhara settlement, failed to come to the rescue of the victims.

According to non-tribal settlers of Chittagong Hill Tracts, the law-enforcing forces of the government had, in fact lowered their guard against the insurgents who, they said, were believed to have been deeply involved in intra-group armed hostilities.

President Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad visited Chittagong Hill Tracts to see for himself the extent of brutalities perpetrated by the insurgent hillsmen on the settlers. He immediately ordered for intensified relief for the victims.

It is gathered that following the President's visits, an investigation is being carried out to find out the loopholes in the security measures in Chittagong Hill Tracts.

At a meeting of the Council Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts late last year, it was decided, in view of the stepped up hostilities of the armed tribal insurgents against the non-tribal settlers, to increase recruits of VDP from amongst the settlers and provide 303 rifles, instead of shotguns, to the trained VDP's.

But, it is learnt, the decision has not yet been implemented. Consequently, in the face of attacks by the so-called Shanti Bahini they become helpless in defending themselves.

The recent laxity in security measures partly grew out of surrender of more than 1500 insurgents in response to the general amnesty announced by President Ershad.

Meanwhile, the incidence of surrender has slowed down as those who have already surrendered have not been provided with the promised rehabilitation and employment due to bureaucratic tangle.

Root Cause

The carnage of Bhushanchhara, Gorasthan and Chhoto Harina, it is gathered, was a sequel to a dispute between a segment of local tribals and some non-tribal settlers over a plot of agricultural land.

In fact, dissatisfaction among the tribals of the CHTs originated with the displacement of about one lakh tribals from the vast tract of fertile land which was lost under the Kaptai Lake in the early sixties. They were not properly rehabilitated by then Pakistan government.

Their miseries in getting settled afresh went a long way to raising their political awareness. After independence, the tribal leaders were advised by then Prime Minister to merge themselves with the mainstream of Bengalee culture.

The rebels began armed activities in late 1976. Since then the law-enforcing bodies have been heavily deployed in the CHTs to maintain law and order. Late President Ziaur Rahman took an initiative to settle the "tribal issue" through negotiations, but the move did not succeed as the settlement of the non-tribals in different parts of the CHTs stood in its way.

Settlement

Settlement of landless plains people in the CHTs was started in 1979. In the first phase, 28,515 families subsequently fled their new homes in the CHTs. In the second phase, 16,709 families were settled, of which 4,769 families left the CHTs.

Later the second phase of settlement of non-tribal families in the CHTs was extended. Its original target was fixed at 20,200 families, but subsequently the target was revised at 7,000 families only.

With the settlement of non-tribal families, the situation in the CHTs began worsening, as the government was distributing khas agricultural land among them.

The relationship between the tribals and non-tribal settlers have remained tense due to their continued dispute over agricultural land. The tribal insurgents mounted an organised campaign to frighten the non-tribal settlers out of the CHTs. Alongside the campaign, they carried out a series of operations at different non-tribal settlements in which they indulged in random killing and arson.

The military organ of the insurgents, identified by themselves as Shanti Bahini underwent a cleavage following ideological and political differences between two groups--one group led by Larma brothers and the other group shepherded by Priti Kumar Chakma.

Both the groups used to enjoy blessings of the Indian government, but as soon as the Marxist hue of the group led by the Larma brothers was exposed to the Indian authorities, the faction led by Priti Kumar Chakma who is known as a emerged as a close confidant of the Indian authorities.

It is now known that with the active cooperation of the Indian authorities the Priti-led group killed the main figure of his rival faction, Manobendra Narayan Larma and some of his lieutenants on November 10 last year. The killing took place in Indian territory.

The faction of Priti Chakma scored another major success when they realised huge ransom against two foreign hostages recently.

While the Priti group wants to keep up the flame of insurgency in the CHTs, his rival faction, now steered by Shantu Larma, is in favour of a political settlement, it is gathered.

The tribals, who are not in any way involved in the insurgency, are vocal for the preservation of their separate cultural identity, but they have become disillusioned with the insurgents. They hold the insurgent tribals responsible for their increasing miseries.

It is widely believed that a political settlement of the tribal issue will bring back peace and communal harmony in the CHTs and as a result the insurgency will gradually fade out.

CSO: 4600/1975

BRIEFS

INDIAN CITIZENS' ACTIVITIES--A total of 14 prominent Hindu citizens of Dhaka city in a joint statement on Sunday condemned the anti-Bangladesh activities of Mr Gobinda Roy and Mr. Gopal Roy, Vice-President and member of the central committee of the so called Nikhil Bangla Nagarik Sangha. The statement said that these two persons being Indian nationals were extending their stay on different places and were staying at 31, Farashgani, a fortlike house in Dhaka city. They were Indian nationals since 1950. The Roy Brothers convened meetings occasionally at their residence one such meeting was convened on June 2. The statement further said that appropriate authorities have been informed twice of their activities, but without any result The statement further said that the main objective of the Nikhil Bangla Nagarik Sanghati was to frustrate the harmony now prevailing between communities in Bangladesh. The signatories to the statement include advocate Santosh Das, Professor Shantipada Das Mrs. Malati Biswas, Advocate Shib Charan Barui and Mr. Madhab Chandra Das. [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 12 Jun 84 pp 1, 8]

JAPANESE GRANT--Bangladesh will receive 2,158 million yen (approximately Taka 21.6 crore) as grant assistance from Japan under an exchange of notes signed in Dhaka Sunday between the two governments, reports BSS. Of the grant, 1,782 million (about Taka 17.8 crore) will be utilized by the Government for procurement of rice from Burma and remaining sum of 376 million yen (Taka 3.8 crore) will be spent for the transportation of rice from that country. The current grant assistance is being extended under the food aid convention of the international wheat agreement, 1971 that provides food support to the developing countries With Sunday's agreements, Japanese grant to Bangladesh since 1971 totalled 85 billion yen (approximately 850 crore) besides this, Japan has made available to Bangladesh a total of 230.94 billion yen (approximately Taka 2,309.4 crore) as commodity and project loans since 1973. Mr. M. A. Syed, Additional Secretary, External Resources Division, Ministry of Finance and Mr. Shonji Kobavashi, Japanese Ambassador to Bangladesh signed the notes on behalf of their respective Government. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Jun 84 p 1]

EXPORT ZONE AUTHORITY--The Export Processing Zone Authority has been transferred to the President's Secretariat, official sources said yesterday, reports BSS. The authority was so far under the Ministry of Industry. Responsibilities of the EPZ Authority include transfer of technology and encouraging and promoting foreign investment for setting up export oriented industries in

the country. Enhanced importance has been attached to the authority by transferring it to the President's Secretariat, the sources said. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 15 Jun 84 p 1]

LABOR PARTY STAND--Bangladesh Labour Party Chief Moulana Abdul Matin yesterday said that his party would contest in the coming election "if it is held free and fair." Addressing a press conference at the party office Moulana Matin hoped that his party would be able to capture power in two or three years through election. The Labour Party leader demanded removal of Janadal Ministers from the Cabinet and form an interim government to ensure free and fair polls. He urged the Government to make public the details of the Bhusanchhara incident. When asked about the party's action programme to prevent sale and use of Indian goods he said, "power is essential for execution of any programme and he will do his best if be in the government." Moulana Matin condemned the Amritsar incidents and called on the Indian government to accept the demands of the Sikhs. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 15 Jun 84 pp 1, 8]

SRAMIK FEDERATION COMMITTEE--A new central committee of Jatiyo Sramik Federation was formed with Mr Abul Bashar as President and Mr Ayubur Rahman as General Secretary. The other office bearers of the new committee are Mr Bazlur Rahman, Executive President, Mr Jahangir Alam, Joint Secretary and Mr Shahjahan Howladar, Finance Secretary. The new committee was formed yesterday at the seventh national council session of the organisation. The meeting in a resolution demanded immediate implementation of the agreement signed between SKOP and the Government on the basis of the five-point demand. In another resolution the council meeting urged the Government to gear up relief operation in the flood-affected areas and to distribute agricultural inputs free of cost among the farmers. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 9 Jun 84 p 8]

LOAN FOR POWER PROJECT--MANILA, June 14--The Asian Development Bank today approved a 120-million-dollar loan to partly finance a 241-million-dollar power system project in Bangladesh, reports Reuter. The project will expand the country's electricity network, the Bank added. It said the loan was repayable over 40 years, including a 10-year grace period, with a service charge of one per cent annually. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 15 Jun 84 p 1]

FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVE--Country's foreign exchange reserve increased by about 59 per cent in Taka 1365 crore during eleven months of the current financial year (1983-84). According to the statement of affairs of Bangladesh, the foreign exchange reserve increased to Taka 1365.60 on May 31 1984 as against the reserve of Taka 856.12 crore as on June 30, 1983. The annual report of the Bangladesh for the year 1982-83 said that the foreign exchange reserve was only Taka 239.68 crore at the end of June 1982. Demand and time deposits increased by Taka 235.71 crore and Taka 1104.75 crore to Taka 1742.69 crore and Taka 4465.77 crore respectively during the last eleven months of the current financial year. Bank credit expanded by over Taka 1025 crore during the period under review. Advances accounted for about 96 per cent of the total increase in credit Advance except those to other banks rose to Taka 5958.85 crore by May 31 1984 from taka 4988.87 crore as on June 30, 1983. The

amount of total credit provided in Bangladesh stood at Taka 6235 crore on May 31, 1984. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 14 Jun 84 p 1]

BORDER FORCES WITHDRAWAL--SONAHAT (Rangpur), June 10--Authorities of Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) and Indian Border Security Force (BSF) to day agreed to withdraw their additional forces from their respective border areas by the end of the current month. The agreement was reached at end of four-hour-long flag meeting held between commanders of two forces at International boundary pillar Nos. 1008 at Sonahat. Drawn in cordial and friendly atmosphere, the agreement is expected to end the border crisis that erupted two months back with Indian BSF opening fire on BDR and Bangladeshis protesting construction of fences by India dishonouring the agreement signed between two countries 10 years ago. Lt. Col Serajul Islam, Sector Commander BDR led three-member Bangladesh team while Brig. Parmeshwar Pillai, DIG BSF Shillong led 10-member Indian side in the discussion. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 11 Jun 84 p 1]

NEW POLITICAL PARTY--A new political party styled as 'Bangladesh Nagorik Sanghoti' has been floated with the objective to 'build a prosperous Bangladesh' on the basis of the 22-point programme. Announcing this at a press conference at a local restaurant on Friday, Mr. Ali Hossain Akhtar, convener of the newly formed political party, said that the decision to turn 'Bangladesh Nagorik Sanghoti' into a political party was taken after 3-month long differences between two factions were ironed out. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 9 Jun 84 p 8]

ENVOY TO MALAYSIA--The Government has decided to appoint Mr. Farooq Sobhan, Bangladesh Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York, as Bangladesh High Commissioner to Malaysia, reports BSS. Mr. Farooq Sobhan was born on September 17, 1940. He has a B.A. (Honours) degree from Dhaka University and an M.A. degree from Oxford. He joined the diplomatic service in 1964 and has served in Cairo, Paris, Belgrade and Moscow. Mr. Farooq Sobhan has been serving at the United Nations since August 1981. Prior to this he was Director-General International Organisations and Economic Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is married and has two children. [Text] Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Jun 84 p 3]

THAI RICE PURCHASE--BANGKOK, June 13--Bangladesh is to buy 4,25,000 tons of Thai rice worth some 2 275 billion baht (98.92 million dollars) government official said here today reports AFP. He said that under a contract signed yesterday the Thai Commercial Ministry will ship about 50,000 tons of 25 per cent supergrade white rice worth 275 million baht (11 96 million dollars) Six private exporters will handle the remaining 375,000 tons of 25 per cent par-boiled rice, worth two billion baht (86.96 million dollars), the official said. Agreements between Dhaka and the six exporters will be signed later today, the official said. The government and private sector shipments were due to be completed by August 15. The deal was the largest ever joint sale by the Thai government and private sector, the official said. Rice has traditionally been Thailand's major export. Last year it exported a record 3.7 million tons up 2.78 per cent from 1982. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Jun 84 pp 1, 12]

BNP APPEAL--The two-day extended meeting of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) ended in Dhaka on Thursday with party Chairman Begum Khaleda Zia in the chair. The meeting demanded the release of political detenus on the eve of Eidul Fitr and withdrawal of cases against those who were convicted under Martial Law. The meeting expressed resentment for not yet releasing any freedom fighter detenus despite announcement by the Chief Martial Law Administrator on December 16 last. The meeting criticising the Government for banning of publication of the daily Dainik Desh demanded immediate withdrawal of the ban and expressed sympathy to the journalists and employees working in the daily. The meeting criticising the Government said that the relief goods sanctioned for the flood affected families were not being distributed to the genuinely affected families. The meeting also urged the government to resist the price hike of essentials. The party condemned the police action against Hosiery workers at Nara vanganj. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 22 Jun 84 p 12]

DECEMBER ELECTION DATE--Election to the 300-seat Parliament will be held by the first week of December next. The date of election has been set by the Election Commission and the formal announcement will be made after the President's approval. An Election Commission source said on Tuesday that preliminary work of fresh delimitation is now continuing and it would be completed by July after giving proper hearing to the petitioners. It may be mentioned here that the Chief Martial Law Administrator earlier gave an order to hold the Parliamentary and Presidential elections without delimitation. The Election Commission made preparations to hold the election last May without delimitation according to the order of the CMLA. After shifting the date of election the government is thinking of repealing the earlier order and it is expected that the repeal order will be issued by the CMLA's Secretariat very soon. While attention was drawn to the demand of different opposition political parties and alliances to announce the date of parliamentary election the source said the date will be announced very soon but the election will be held after the completion of delimitation work. The source categorically mentioned that a minimum of five weeks' time would be provided to the candidates from the date of announcement of the election programme for preparation for contesting the polls. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Jun 84 p 1]

NEW CHILEAN AMBASSADOR--Mr. Varlos Bustos Diaz has been appointed ambassador of the Republic of Chile to Bangladesh with residence in New Delhi, reports BSS. A career diplomat Mr. Diaz was born on March 13, 1937. He graduated in Law from the Catholic University of Chile and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1960. Mr. Diaz served in Chilean embassies in U.S. Ecuador Argentina, Austria Great Britain and Bolivia in various capacities. He was appointed ambassador to Denmark in October, 1982. He was decorated with the Order of the Belgian Crown in 1965 and Order of Merit of Ecuador in 1977. Mr. Diaz is married and has four children. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Jun 84 p 12]

JANADAL MANIFESTO, CONSTITUTION--The draft manifesto and draft constitution of Janadal was published on Wednesday, reports BSS. The party which came into existence through a declaration on November 27, 1983 headed by Justice Ahsanuddin Chowdhury, former President had in the past functioned with a

constitution and manifesto. But it declared its four principles-Bangladeshi nationalism, islamic ideals and values, democracy and progress. The draft manifesto is based on 18-point programme of President Ershad. The draft constitution has provided for party hierarchy at various levels. Supreme hierarchy of the party is the Supreme Council and there will be national executive and working committees. The party shall also have a National Council with Concillors from all parts of the country. The party shall have its units at ward village, union, upazila town and city levels. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 21 Jun 84 p 1]

MUSLIM LEAGUE EXPULSION--Muslim League (Siddiqui) President has expelled from the party Sirajul Islam, a central committee member who is also Chairman of Khulna Municipality for 'treachery and anti-party activity'. The party chief Justice B.A. Siddiqui has directed the Khulna district committee to take appropriate action against Mr Islam. It may be mentioned that Mr Islam with his group of 22 municipal commissioners has recently joined Janadal. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 16 Jun 84 p 1]

CSO: 4600/1988

CORRESPONDENT ANALYZES SUCCESS OF ASSAM AGITATION

Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Jun 84 p 7

[Text] GUWAHATI, June 15 -- The success of the 24-hour Assam bandh today, marking not so much a revival of the agitation as a reminder that it is merely dormant, has been in the context of the continuing behind the scenes talks that are being held with the Central officials and the compulsions that have forced the All-Assam Students Union, some of whose leaders are now in Delhi, to embark simultaneously upon what appears to be a posture of confrontation with the State authorities.

The contradiction is, however, only apparent. For one thing, the AASU leaders are forced to resort to these occasional gestures of militancy for only thus can they keep those malcontents within the organisation, some of them even within the top echelons, in check. Attacks from within the ranks of the organisation as well as from colleagues in the AACSP--the whole alliance has been getting increasingly uneasy--against the alleged drift towards softening of the organisation's "principled" stand on the issue of foreign nationals has more or less forced the AASU to resort to symbolic gestures of militancy even while warily initiating steps for a compromise settlement.

Derisive opposition: Following the decision at the Jorhat convention in January last to "politicise" the agitation, the AASU has been facing some derisive opposition from some of its friends and colleagues that such a line is merely rationalising the abandonment of the path of agitation. Secondly, these periodic agitational gestures against the State Government reinforce the point that the AASU has always been making, that while it is ready to cooperate with the "Government" to evolve an acceptable solution to the problem it will have nothing to do with the "illegal Ministry".

But these rationalisations also conceal some deeper truths. Whatever the AASU might say, it is openly acknowledged in Government circles that the periodic renewal of the agitation programme is a necessary condition for the political survival of the Chief Minister, Mr. Hiteswar Saikia. More immediately, the revival of an agitational programme, even if it is symbolic, means just that more respite from the problems that the Chief Minister is facing from within the Congress Legislature Party.

Indeed, these present manoeuvrings in which apart from the AASU and the Central leaders, factions of the State Government are also involved, highlight the delicate nature of the ethnic balance in Assam and demonstrate once again that no settlement "acceptable" is ever possible. It also highlights the need, indeed the necessity, for all the important parties involved of a selective intensification of the agitation.

While the Chief Minister needs to settle the problem, he certainly seems to be in no hurry to do so. There are more immediate advantages in the prolongation of the agitation, but if it gets out of hand, the long-term disadvantages would far outweigh the immediate advantages.

Game of brinkmanship: So, what is necessary is a precisely calculated act of brinkmanship to ensure that the agitation leaders would be provoked to the desired point of militancy and belligerency. The AASU leaders are no less adept at this game of brinkmanship; they too are well versed in the art of providing sufficient provocation to the State administration so that the organisation's own militancy is made sufficiently visible and the muted grumblings from within the ranks of a softening of its stand on the foreigners issue are neutralised.

Given these considerations, it is not surprising that the call for an all-Assam bandh has also met with the usual "complete success". But this does not necessarily mean that the agitation can be revived on the scale and in the intense manner as in its earlier phase. The success of the bandh only reaffirms an inescapable truth about the Assam agitation; that "normality" of the last one year has done little to undermine the fundamental grievances that first gave rise to the agitation that the agitation which is only dormant can still be revived though at incalculable costs

Little say over methods: The fact is that while a large section of important segments of Assamese people in selected areas do support the aims of the agitation, they have little say over the methods adopted by its leadership. Now that the agitation leadership is more or less formally committed to combining the method of agitation in the streets with some sort of political mobilisation along more conventional lines, one may witness more frequent instances of bandhs and other programmes along with intensified efforts to reach a compromise.

CSO: 4600/1963

TEXT OF PRESIDENT SINGH'S 17 JUN BROADCAST

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Jun 84 p 6

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 17.

Following is the text of the President, Mr. Zail Singh's broadcast to the nation on Sunday night.

"My dear countrymen,

While talking to you, my heart is full of sorrow and anguish. For quite some time, reports about some events in Punjab had been coming. The gurdwaras which are centres of spiritual peace and human brotherhood are meant for all. Unfortunately, some aberrations occurred in recent times. The gurdwaras came under the control of extremists and even office-bearers responsible for the management of gurdwaras seemed helpless before the extremists.

The persons who had the management of the holy places in their hands cannot escape the responsibility for the happenings, because they gave all sorts of liberty to extremists and exercised no control over their activities, Mr. Zail Singh said.

Refuge of extremists: The holy places became the refuge of the extremists and misguided elements. As a consequence, the extremists indulged in murder, loot and arson. They brought misery to Punjab. The victims were both Hindus and Sikhs. These included prominent journalists, religious preachers, scholars, political leaders, even farmers and workers. Extremism went to the extent of claiming the life of a great scholar like Singh Sahab, Giani Pratap Singh, former Jathedar of Shri Akal Takht. He was an eminent personality of the 20th Century. He was also an acknowledged writer, thinker and minister of the Guru's gospel. His life was taken, because his ideas did not conform to those of the extremists.

Role of administration: Those in charge of the administration of Punjab cannot be absolved of responsibility in this matter. The Government had most reluctantly to send the security forces. Two religious and political leaders surrendered themselves to the security forces in the interest of maintaining the sanctity of the holy places. If the extremists had also surrendered, the sanctity of the religious places would not have been disturbed and the subsequent sad events could have been avoided.

Patience, foresight need of the hour. "I

say it with anguish in my heart that we should follow the correct path in the face of these sad events. A nation is sometimes beset with such circumstances when its patience, statesmanship and its courage are on trial. I appeal not only to the Sikhs, but all my countrymen to consider these sad events and see that never in future unlawful arms and items not sanctioned by the Sikh tradition enter the gurdwaras. It is a matter of satisfaction to me that the structure and sanctity of Shri Harmandir Sahib remained intact. I have been told by the officers and men of the security forces that they had vowed not to fire in the direction of Shri Harmandir Sahib even in the face of certain death. In the operations, some people have been killed, including the officers and men of the security forces. Patience and farsightedness are the need of the hour. We have also to ensure that such a sad situation never occurs again.

Maintaining unity, integrity: "We have to maintain the unity and integrity of the country. We have also to endeavour to maintain friendly and harmonious relations between our people. My agony is all the more, because I am the representative of the whole nation. I am grateful to all my countrymen for having reposed this trust in me. It is my duty to look after all the States and the Territories of the country and to share the sorrow with the people wherever such events take place.

Common heritage of Punjabis: I specially want to remind the Punjabis that they have common traditions, heritage and a common history. They have been sharing the same food, the same air and have common joys and sorrows. We have to fill the breaches in our minds and have to march together. We shall have to look after the interests of the whole country and the nation. I am confident that all of us, the Government as well as the people, will make sincere efforts in this direction. Never again should we allow such circumstances to develop which create disunity among us. We have to strengthen the unity of our people.

Teachings of Guru Granth Sahab: "The Holy Book, Guru Granth Sahab, teaches compassion,

service, sacrifice and universal brotherhood. We have to foster mutual love and affection. Not only the Sikhs but people professing other religions also have faith in Gurbani. The Sikh Gurus thought of the country as a whole. They travelled to each and every part of the country. Every inch of this country belongs to all of us, whether we are Sikhs, Christians, Muslims, Jains, Buddhists, Hindus and others. We have to heal the wounds and maintain the sanctity of all religious places. We must remember the teachings of Guru Gobind Singh that one who loves humanity loves God. Jai Hind."

CSO: 4600/1967

BJP VICE PRESIDENT RESIGNS OVER LONGOWAL RELEASE

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] BOMBAY, June 15 -- Mr Ram Jethmalani has resigned his position as the vice-president of the BJP and has also resigned from the membership of the Lok Sabha on the issue of the petition filed by him for the release of the Akali leader, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

In a letter addressed to the party president, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, Mr Jethmalani said it appeared that he was out of tune with the party on this issue. He asked Mr Vajpayee to treat it as his letter of resignation from the party.

He said Mr Vajpayee could submit his Lok Sabha resignation to the Speaker without referring it back to him.

Lead

Mr Jethmalani said in the letter that the BJP must take the lead in winning the Sikhs over and establishing Hindu-Sikh unity at any cost. He said he was prepared to go into political wilderness over the issue.

Mr Jethmalani said that he still believed that the BJP was the only party to which a decent man could belong. But he also believed that a complete unity of Hindus and Sikhs was essential for survival of both.

Without this integration, the country will be jeopardized, he felt. A weaker Punjab and a discontented Army would provide a strong temptation to external aggressors, he said.

Gratitude

It was to demonstrate the deep gratitude the country feel for the Sikhs and the Hindus feel for the Sikh Gurus that he had moved the court petition, Mr Jethmalani explained.

He said Sant Longowal was a man of peace but he had become a prisoner of terrorists. It was time the moderate outlook of the Sant was recognized, he added.

Mr Jethmalani said he felt that the Army action in Punjab was appropriate and inevitable. But the situation which made this action inevitable was the result of the criminal follies of the Government and Mrs Gandhi.

Unit

The BJP's Delhi unit leader, Mr Madanlal Khurana, had criticized Mr Jethmalani for moving the Supreme Court for the release of the Akali Dal president, add UNI.

In his letter to Mr Vajpayee, Mr Jethmalani said he did not know what Mr Khurana's credentials were like and was not sure of the propriety of the criticism.

The party's national executive body meeting in New Delhi on June 22 will discuss the resignation issue.

CSO: 4600/1962

PAPER REPORTS GANDHI INTERVIEW ON CBS

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 17 Jun 84 p 7

[Text] LONDON, June 16 --Rebutting suggestions that India was "lurching from crisis to crisis", Mrs Gandhi has said that there is all-round progress in the country despite grane problems, reports PTI.

"The people of India have lived together for centuries and there is a feeling of Indianness. Sometimes it gets disturbed, sometimes the disturbance is superficial and sometimes it goes a little deeper", Mrs Gandhi told the U.S. network, CBS, in an interview.

Given the vastness of the population, the number of its minorities and the diversity of language, religion, culture and "every possible thing", India has "fairly few crises", she said.

Mrs Gandhi said: "In fact, one of the reasons why a majority of Sikhs are supporting us there is that they see that this agitation (in Punjab), had interrupted their progress and the economic life of the State", she added.

"I do not think so", Mrs Gandhi replied when asked if it was natural for the Sikhs "to fear a possible backlash by opportunists seeking to come out for the Hindu cause now".

She said: "There are some very narrow-minded people who sort of overreacted in the initial stages. But, I think they see the gravity of the situation and the absolute necessity for communal harmony"

She said that elements which seemed to be in charge of the Golden Temple were not at all religious, "had they any religious feeling, they would not have violated the sanctity of their holiest shrine".

The Government knew that some arms were coming into the temple and had mentioned this to the Akali Dal leaders. "But we had no idea how much it was. The temple was becoming a shelter for criminals, anti-national and anti-social elements. It was when we really felt that the pattern of it was an anti-national one affecting the integrity of the country that we had to act. It was not an easy decision to take", she said.

Asked if she feared there may be any disloyalty in the Army among the high-ranking Sikh officers, Mrs Gandhi replied, "some may be feeling a little unhappy but I doubt very much whether there would be any disloyalty. Some of the people who have been posing as leaders in this are retired Army officers, who were not honourably retired, they had been cashiered".

CSO: 4600/1965

GANDHI INTERVIEWS WITH COMMONWEALTH RADIOS REPORTED

Interview with BBC

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Jun 84 p 8

[Text] The following is the text of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's interview to the BBC:

Question: Prime Minister, many people in Britain have found it extraordinary that the place of worship like the Golden Temple should have become a sanctuary for armed men. They understand why you had to do something about it. But I think we do not understand exactly why you waited so long, why you allowed the situation to deteriorate to the point at which only a bloody military action could deal with it.

Mrs Gandhi: We were negotiating with the Akali Dal leadership, as you know, and we were hoping that we would be able to come to some agreement and that they would try to exercise some control. In fact we had pointed out to them some of the locations where, according to our information, arms were being kept, people were sheltered. And we also said that if you do not want anybody to go from outside, you inspect the rooms yourself and give up the people who are wanted for terrorism or murder or some loot etc. So it was in an attempt to sort or defuse the situation that it took so long.

Q: Even the President of India said he does not understand how the police could have allowed so many weapons into the temple complex.

Mrs Gandhi: Well, they did try to cordon off, but it was not very successful. For one reason, they took them mostly mixed up with food and so on. So when we inspected the trucks the priests and all made a big noise saying this is the food and you are messing about with it and so on. You know the sacks of grains. So there were many difficulties. There were loopholes. There is no doubt about it.

Intelligence failure

Q: Your generals concede that there was a failure of intelligence, that they underestimated the military threat posed by Bhindranwale and his supporters. How is that possible?

Mrs Gandhi: Firstly, we did have a good deal of intelligence, perhaps not absolutely up to the mark. But secondly, we do not have sophisticated equipment and so on to have this knowledge.

Q: But you have been looking at the situation there for months, if not years. People were freely

going in and out. How was it you did not know what the situation was inside?

Mrs Gandhi: We knew what the situation was, but not the details of it and perhaps the extent of it.

Q: Were you shocked when you heard the scale of the casualties?

Mrs Gandhi: Yes, I was.

Q: Surprised?

Mrs Gandhi: And pained.

Q: For eight days you prevented any independent outside observers from actually seeing what was going on at the time of the military action. Are you surprised that Sikhs throughout the world have been very suspicious and sceptical about what was going on?

Mrs Gandhi: What has been said is a lot of wrong propaganda. Now before this action took place, the press was going there. They were publishing pictures of the fortifications, and the number of murders, how bodies were being thrown out of the Golden Temple. So surprising that the Sikhs did not react to that earlier, that why was the temple being misused in this manner. Here, we are deeply religious people and there is resentment if any religious temple or mosque or gurdwara or church is touched. So that is why we have to go a bit slow on this.

We were trying to draw people's attention to it, that this is what was happening and if you do not want interference, you yourselves should find a way out and condemn what is happening.

Because, you know, of the number of people killed by the terrorists, half were Sikhs. I must make it clear that this is not the Government versus Sikh problem or a Hindu versus Sikh problem. The Government at no time had been against the Sikhs in any way or the Sikh religion nor was this action taken against the temple. It was taken merely against a group of people who were taking shelter there and using it as a foothold for all kinds of anti-national, anti-social, anti-religious activities. I think the temple was really desecrated by them.

On propaganda

Q: If that was the case and if you have nothing

to hide in military action, why make sure, so far as you could, that nobody was there independently to observe what you were doing? Surely, that was the very way to excite scepticism, doubts, suspicions among the Sikh community around the world.

Mrs Gandhi: This sort of thing one has to leave in the hands of those who were doing the operation. Some of our newspapers have been carrying very wild tales even earlier, and this has hurt one community or the other and increased the tension. So we did not want this situation to arise on top of everything else. We could not allow outsiders if we are not allowing the Punjab papers.

Q: You are now sending your own propaganda film all over the world to try and persuade the Sikhs that the Golden Temple itself is undamaged.

Mrs Gandhi: Also other press correspondents have gone. One group has gone and now more will go.

Q: Why have you not yet allowed any pictures on the considerable damage done to the Akal Takht, the second most important building there?

Mrs Gandhi: But those who go there have seen it from inside.

Q: They have not been allowed to photograph the details or show photographs.

Mrs Gandhi: Well, this I really do not know. It is for the people on the spot to decide. But I think when they do not know what has been happening, it comes as a shock to them. But at no time have we hidden that this has happened. We have told them that the Akal Takht is damaged, although the central part, where the book is kept, is not.

Q: Other than some Pakistani weapons and passports that have been found in the temple area where is the hard evidence that Bhindranwale was supported by Pakistan?

Pakistan hand

Mrs Gandhi: Well, do you ever have hard evidence in cases like this? I do not think you ever have from even places where governments have been removed. You have not found the evidence even years later. But this can only come out in the course of interrogation of the terrorists and others.

Q: But your generals have blamed Pakistan. Do you?

Mrs Gandhi: Well now one specific thing that came out in our press and which was told by some of the young men who were misguided enough to try and leave that they were excited to do this by what they saw on the Pakistan TV.

Q: That is not exactly a government plot. Is it?

Mrs Gandhi: We are not saying it is a government plot. We are saying there are some external forces. I do not think anybody has used the word government.

Q: It is being reported that you told recent visitors that you believe that the American CIA may have had a hand in stirring up the trouble there.

Mrs Gandhi: No. This is what they try to get me to say. In every possible way the same question comes back and back, so you say something on it. All I said when I was asked this was that the CIA is active in a number of countries and there

is no reason to think that it is not active here. But whether it is involved in this or not, I do not think. I have been specifically asked nor have I said anything about it.

Q: In Britain we have already seen a good deal of angry Sikh protests at the military action in the Golden Temple. Many Sikhs have told me that whatever they thought of Bhindranwale before the attack, they now seen him as a martyr who died defending the holy shrine against your military invaders. Now what you say to that?

Mrs Gandhi: What I have said before. That he had desecrated the shrine by allowing different types of people in, this whole affair. Firstly, the Akali Dal, which is a political party, with whom we were talking, who did not raise or press their demands for three years they were in power in Punjab and had two of their ministers in the Central Government. They did not think them enough to be agitated about. The agitation started only when they lost the election rather badly to my party.

Then there are the people whom we can call terrorists, some of whom we call naxalites, anti-social elements, smugglers. All these people always get together or try to take advantage of such a situation. I had warned the Akali Dal that my experience of the previous agitations is that no matter with what intention you start it, it may go out of your hands and other people will come into prominence who will not want you there and who will bring in violence and so on.

Secession talks

And the third group was a very, very small outside India who have been talking about secession and so on.

Q: To what end?

Mrs Gandhi: Well, as a head of state and probably I have written to other heads of state also, but specially those areas where there is a Sikh population.

Q: How can Mrs Thatcher stop your Sikh opponents like Dr Chauhan campaigning in Britain for a separate Sikh state of Khalistan?

Mrs Gandhi: That is for her to figure out.

Q: Do you think she should try and stop?

Mrs Gandhi: I only informed her of the situation here, what it was, why we had to take this action and what the situation is today.

Q: Mahatma Gandhi said in 1931 "I venture to suggest that the non-violence creed of the Congress Party is the surest guarantee of good faith and our Sikh friends have no reason to fear that it would betray them. The moment it does so, the Congress would not only thereby seal its own doom but of the country too." After the military action in Amritsar is that a danger today?

Mrs Gandhi: Military action is a last resort. In this country we have pursued the path of non-violence, of negotiations, within the country as well outside the country. We do not believe in war. But we have been attacked, we have had to defend ourselves and Mahatma Gandhi in his life time accepted that necessity.

Q: You talk of the necessity of the healing touch. Why is it then you have locked up almost the entire leadership of the Akali Dal, the main Sikh religious party?

Mrs Gandhi: Well, we have to find out how involved they are in all this. And the healing touch is with the mass of the Sikhs, of course it is with them also. Because it is the masses of the Sikhs who were misled.

Dal—no mass party

Q: But how can you help reconciliation if you exclude the leaders of the party with the largest following among the ordinary Sikh farmers in Punjab?

Mrs Gandhi: How can you say they have the largest following? We won the elections and I do not think we have lost that following really.

I do deny the Akali Dal has a large following. Because otherwise they would have won the elections.

Q: Are you saying because they did not win. You do not now have to talk with them?

Mrs Gandhi: No. I am not. We have been talking with them.

Q: But now?

Mrs Gandhi: Now it depends talks with whom? Are they willing to talk? They have rejected every thing we have offered.

Q: But are you willing?

Mrs Gandhi: I am depending on whether they are clear about integrity and unity of the country, as I said, within our Constitution.

Q: You said moderate Sikhs were aware of what was happening and did nothing to stop it, the situation has completely changed. That seems to imply that you are not going to talk to them any more.

Mrs Gandhi: No, that is not so. We have been in touch with them continuously, even when some of them were in prison.

Package deal

Q: What about the package of constitutional and practical reforms you have more or less negotiated with Sikh leaders?

Mrs Gandhi: We have made our position clear. Now if their attitude gave the impression that, well I mean really they do not want an agreement, some of them. You see they all are not of one mind.

Q: Is your package still on the table?

Mrs Gandhi: Yes, broadly on the table, except as I said we have to take this new factor that some people have raised certain slogans which we consider anti-national and against the unity of the country. And that sort of thing, of course, I do not think any government would tolerate.

Q: You seem to be saying that because they did not take it when you offered it in peace.

Mrs Gandhi: I am not saying that at all. You do not pull me into it.

Q: Just make clear how much of that complete package you negotiated is still there.

Mrs Gandhi: You can't have a one-sided package. It depends on their response.

Q: But you locked them up?

Mrs Gandhi: I do not think that makes any difference to either talking or to the response.

Q: After the riots in Bombay you were quickly on the scene to help in the task of reconciliation. Now why haven't you gone to Amritsar. The Golden Temple?

Mrs Gandhi: It is quite a different situation. Is it not?

Q: Needs reconciliation?

Mrs Gandhi: Yes, it does. But here there was a military situation almost. Even before the Army went in, it was a military situation. They were shooting people, throwing bodies out and everybody who went in was escorted by an armed person, even women. So I do not think that my going there would have been a healing touch. The whole point of going is that it should show some result.

Q: The President has been. Do you not feel it would be helpful if you went?

Mrs Gandhi: Now, I will go. I was fully in favour of the President going.

Q: Some of the papers here have suggested that if there is no reconciliation in Punjab, that could very soon become a sort of Northern Ireland situation. Do you think so?

Mrs Gandhi: No, not at all. I have met a large number of Sikhs there. I have been to some other cities and I have met them. There is no question of that and we have no doubt whatsoever about the loyalty and patriotism of the Sikh community. They are an integral part of India and they have not only stood shoulder to shoulder but sometimes taken the lead when we have been invaded from outside, and in all our developmental and other programmes.

Q: How has military action been received by the rest of the Indian population?

Mrs Gandhi: I would say even amongst the Sikhs a large number had a feeling of relief because they have been living under the shadow of terror, they did not know who would be killed when because it was a hit-and-run business. But we must see, and I have stressed this from the very first day, that there should be no question of anybody winning or losing. This was a sad occasion, something that was forced on us and we must convince our Sikh brothers and sisters that in no way was it meant against them or their religion.

Communal amity

But otherwise it was more a question of who came into Assam after a particular date and there are historical reasons for it and other reasons for a complicated situation.

In Bombay also the leader of the Muslim League who is, you can say, is extreme Muslim, even he has said it is not a Hindu-Muslim thing as such as one group of Hindus who have been trying to get a foothold but had not succeeded so far for all these many years. When you taken the entire population and number of Muslims living here or the number of Sikhs living here or Christians, who are more than the Sikhs, in total these are very small incidents.

Q: It has been said that one of the reasons that Bhindranwale came to prominence was because your party helped him to it with the aim of a dividing the Sikhs and winning the elections, as you did in the State. Do you feel any sort of responsibility for this?

Mrs Gandhi: Certainly not. I do not know him at all. I never knew him besides, how could

we possibly win by dividing the Sikhs? We won because Sikhs were united with us and only a small section was away. If we divide them we stand to lose. If there is a bad law and order situation it is government that stands to lose. To this is an absolutely meaningless accusation. Mr Bhindrawale did go and speak for one of our candidates in the election.

Interview with Radio Canada

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Jun 84 p 8

[Text]

Following are excerpts of the Prime Minister's interview with Radio Canada:

Q: Why was it necessary to use the army in the Golden Temple against the Sikhs who have been taking shelter there?

PM: Firstly, it was not used against the Sikhs. It was not used against the Golden Temple. It was not used against the Sikh religion. It was used to take out of the temple those terrorists who had been indulging in murder, arson and loot over a period. I don't know the exact figure but over 350 people had been killed by them. Initially there were only certain people who were on the hit list and then it became more and more organised. And a very large number of the people killed by the Sikh terrorists were Sikhs. It is only in the later phase, in the very last months, that they concentrated on the Hindus.

Q: Why was it necessary to use the army? The army is to protect India from its outside enemies, not from enemies who are Indians?

PM: Well, because we heard that they had bigger weapons inside than our para-military forces have. Also the way they had fortified it showed that it was beyond the other forces.

Q: Does your Government take some of the blame for letting things get so bad, letting the fortifications be built, letting the temple be turned into a fortress without acting, without taking moves which could have prevented the problem from becoming so grave?

PM: Well, it is difficult to say because... you see the people were against anybody going in, even at an earlier stage. We were trying to talk to the Akali Dal people, and we felt that may be if we could reach an agreement with them they would stop it themselves without any interference from the Government. This is what we were hoping for and working for.

Q: The Government has been accused of inaction. How hard was it working to achieve that kind of a resolution?

PM: Practically everyday. There were many many meetings, some known and some unknown because they wanted them quiet.

Q: So, why did all of that come to nothing?

PM: Well, we can't say why. I think there were differences amongst themselves, perhaps rivalries, and maybe some of them were afraid.

Q: What was your feeling when you heard of the casualties in the army operation inside the Golden Temple?

PM: Well, naturally one is pained and distressed at any casualty.

Q: It was an extraordinary operation for the Indian Army to put the full-scale attack on a major place of worship?

PM: It was not a full-scale attack and that is why we had so many casualties, because we had told them to avoid hitting at the temple or any of the main places of worship. If there had been a full-scale attack it would have been over much sooner. But of course the main temple would have been damaged, which they saved.

Q: Did you at any stage think of talking yourself with Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale? He had always said "let Mrs Gandhi come and talk to me and that is the way to solve the problem".

PM: But he also said that he was not concerned with the demands.

Q: You never thought of talking to him?

PM: No.

Q: You hinted a lot that there is a foreign hand involved, maybe, Pakistan, maybe other countries. Why do you keep making these suggestions?

PM: Well, because I think these are true.

Q: What is the evidence?

PM: The evidence unfortunately always comes out much later in any country where this interference has taken place. And it has come out by the people themselves who have done things, usually.

Q: The evidence that has been coming out this last week — things like Pakistani passports, weapons with foreign markings, now they are told to be major smuggling operations...

PM: Both things were there.

Q: Which is it, is it international conspiracy or a lot of smuggling across your borders?

PM: It could be both. They don't cancel each other out.

Q: Who are the other foreign powers involved?

PM: I don't know, because countries may not act directly.

Q: Is the United States involved in some plot against India?

PM: No, I don't know.

Q: Israel?

PM: I really don't know.

Q: Why was your Government so ignorant of what was going on in the Golden Temple? When the army did finally go in they didn't know what they were going to face. They didn't know that anti-tank missiles were there.

PM: Well, we didn't know the extent of it, but

we did know that some of these things were there.

Q: What was wrong with your Intelligence?

PM: Firstly we don't have that kind of a sophisticated Intelligence set up. We don't even have the Intelligence of the size which we should have for this country and this is true for almost everything here. We don't have the sophisticated equipment necessary to find out these things.

Q: Are you going to start getting it? Do you need, perhaps as a Government, to be knowing more about the unrests, the agitations around the country?

PM: Well, we have to balance in between...I mean we don't want to be big brother watching, so we have to find a middle way.

Q: How are you going to go about winning back the Sikhs who are feeling very upset now, very alienated, very hostile to the Government?

PM: I don't think this is true of all the Sikhs because I have travelled around and met a fair number of them. You know at such moments you have a lot of rumour mongering and a lot of exaggerated figures and stories going round. Somebody said for instance a lot of women had been killed. Now, some women were killed before this by the terrorists. In fact there were pretty gruesome tales of what they did to one particular woman who happened to belong to their own group. But before the army went in they appealed and all the women came out and many others besides. Then of course the story went round that the temple had been razed to the ground. So, as they learn the truth they will be equally worried about what had happened before the army went in. India in its long history has been through many ups and downs and such traumatic experiences, and we have managed to heal the wounds and I am sure we will do this again.

Q: How do you feel about the number of moderate middle class Sikhs around Delhi who were wandering around chanting "Khalistan zindabad"?

PM: Well, I hope they will soon come to see reason. It is an emotional reaction, but I don't think that deep in their hearts they want anything like that.

Q: There was concern amongst the moderate Sikhs that Bhindranwale, the fanatic extremist leader, could in some strange way become a martyr for the new Khalistan movement and that the things he did which were bad might be forgotten and he may be seen as someone venerated and another Sikh hero?

PM: I can only hope not.

Q: What can you do to counter that kind of a thing.

PM: It is not me countering, it is the Sikh community themselves who have to counter it.

Q: Do you see the community as a whole being alienated from your Government at the moment?

PM: No, as I just said it isn't.

Q: What proportion?

PM: Well, one doesn't know. But I think fairly large numbers are not. They are hurt but that doesn't mean necessarily that they are alienated. And so are we hurt. I share their anguish and their sorrow. This was one of the reasons as I

said earlier for our delay in taking such an action.

Q: Does the Akali Dal have a role in reconciling the Government and the Sikhs? Can you use them as a bridge?

PM: No, I don't think so.

Q: What is their future as far as your Government is concerned?

PM: Well, I don't think one can say anything at this moment. It is too soon.

Q: Why did you put their leaders in jail?

PM: Well, they said things and so on which come under our laws.

Q: Can you believe that people like Sant Harchand Singh Longowal for instance were anti-national, and were working against the best interests of India?

PM: No, we don't know, this we can only know later.

Q: Are there any particular Sikhs in India who can be used to restore relations, to act as a bridge?

PM: There are many, very many. As I said I have just been on tour, and I have met and talked with Sikhs everywhere I have gone.

Q: And what sort of things are they saying to you?

PM: They are very friendly.

Q: What are they saying about the Golden Temple at the moment?

PM: Nobody likes it... I don't like it myself as I have made it very clear, but the question is that the Golden Temple was being desecrated. A temple is not a place where you commit murder, it is not a place where you collect arms, it is not a one-sided thing. They are equally shocked at what happened.

Q: When you made the decision to send the army in to take the action against the extremists, what thought did you give to political consequences of such an action?

PM: Well, India's unity comes first, and also this kind of anti-social and anti-national activity cannot be tolerated anywhere.

Q: What considerations did you give to India's unity? What do you mean by that reference?

PM: Obviously, there was something going on there which was not in the national interest, and could weaken India's unity.

Q: As a leader of the party going into the elections in the next six months what are the political consequences or the political fall-out of this situation?

PM: Frankly, I don't care. We have many things which are more important than elections and parties.

Q: A lot of Sikhs and even some Hindus that I have been talking to, say that you might not get many Sikh votes, but now you will get the Hindu votes. Do you feel so?

PM: As I said I have never given a thought to elections till we come to them, and I have never bothered about winning or losing. I do what I think is right.

Q: Are you concerned that minorities in India are now feeling a little insecure? The Sikhs, as we have discussed, are feeling a little upset. Muslims have been attacked around

Bombay . . .

PM: No. The sort of thing that happened in Bombay was quite different and this is something else. If you take the total population of India, all this is very very small in number of course, it is not a good thing to happen and we try to prevent it. But when you take the totality of India as a whole, there are far less incidents here than many other countries, which have smaller minorities.

Q: You have often said that one of India's great strengths is secularism. In the past months you have seen Sikh religious fanaticism had a very bad outcome, Hindu communalism and the Muslim communal backlash to that. Do you have a problem with your secularism?

PM: Elections bring out all these things a bit to the fore. But, I think, basically the Indian is tolerant and has been over the centuries. All these religions have co-existed for centuries.

Q: Are the things now moving to a state where . . . I mean we had Assam, we had Punjab . . .

PM: No, I don't think so.

Q: You may not think so, but are there perhaps elements building up that could at some stage force you to . . .

PM: Some people are trying to make them build up, but I think the mass of the people are not going to allow it.

Q: Is there a situation developing with Assam, Punjab, Kashmir even, and other smaller problems in the country, where circumstances might arise where you had to impose the Emergency again?

PM: I don't think so, no.

Q: Is it something that your Cabinet or yourself has been giving any thought?

PM: No.

Q: Is it something you reject completely?

PM: Well, I don't think it would work.

Q: In the way it worked in 1975?

PM: Well, 1975 was an entirely different situation, and I felt that the country had to be given a shock and it was, and it righted itself immediately. We didn't have to use even the police anywhere at all in the whole country.

Q: You mean India doesn't need that kind of shock right now?

PM: Well, you can't use the same shock again.

Q: Do you have a different shock in mind?

PM: No, I don't have any shock in mind. Right now, as I said before what is needed is the healing process between all communities.

Q: What can you tell us about that healing process. How is that going to work?

PM: These things can't be put in words because they are different in different places, with different people, with different actions. And basically it has to come from the people themselves. We can only help it along and see when something is happening that is hampering it we can only see how we can remove the obstruction. But basically it has to come from the people.

Q: It seems to me a kind of euphoria amongst sections of the Hindu community that finally the Sikhs were . . .

PM: That is very wrong of them, as I have said quite firmly and I do believe that at no time have we considered this to be any kind of a victory. It has always been a painful action. You know that people are hurt and we have to heal the wounds.

GANDHI WRITES TO WORLD LEADERS ON PUNJAB

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Jun 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 18.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, is writing to a number of heads of government explaining the recent events in Punjab that led to the painful decision to order military action against the Sikh extremists engaged in a senseless orgy of violence.

The first letter in the series has been sent to the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, and the drafts are now ready for sending out similar communications to other prominent western leaders including the U.S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan.

Mrs. Gandhi will be writing to the heads of more important non-aligned countries with which India has close bilateral relations. These countries with no well-established independent news media of their own are more vulnerable to the insidious propaganda being carried on in West Asia, Africa and elsewhere by some unfriendly elements describing the military action as an indefensible act of suppression of a minority clamouring for independence.

But significantly enough the Prime Minister is not writing to the Soviet leader or heads of other socialist countries, since it is not considered necessary to explain the sad sequence of events in their case. As these countries have generally taken a sympathetic view of the situation, there are no problems of communication involved in getting the official Indian version across to their peoples.

Ready for resuming talks: The one basic point that Mrs. Gandhi has been stressing in her interviews to the western media on the Punjab situation is that the stern action taken against the extremists in the Golden Temple complex does not preclude a political settlement of the Akali demands, but opens the way for an early resumption of negotiations. The arrest of the moderate Akali leaders like Messrs. Longowal, Tohra, Badal and Barnala will not be a barrier to the reopening of a dialogue with them while they are still under detention.

In other words, the Prime Minister has been hinting that the Government is prepared to talk to them, as it has done before, even while they are in prison. What she is stressing

is that it is necessary to restore a reasonable measure of normality in Punjab soon to create the right climate for negotiations in the new context with the extremists no longer posing a threat to the lives of moderate Akali leaders if they are really interested in an early settlement.

The administrative machinery of the Government at the Centre which has remained mobilised for the last few weeks to deal almost exclusively with the Punjab crisis and its contrywide ramification is now reverting to its normal functions, although the Prime Minister's office, Cabinet Secretariat, the Ministries of Defence, Home and External Affairs, the intelligence agencies and the military establishment are still fully preoccupied with the Punjab situation.

New chain of command: As it has happened in the past in similar circumstances, a new chain of command has emerged behind the scenes providing for the active participation of some of the younger political personalities in the Prime Minister's entourage in the decision-making processes of the Government. The task of political supervision of the military action has been entrusted to the Minister of State for Defence, Mr. K. P. Singh Deo, while others like Mr. Arun Singh, MP., have been associated with the planning and coordination of publicity operations.

In his dual capacity as general secretary of the Congress (I) and a member of Parliament, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has been closely associated with all aspects of this crisis management. But the day-to-day functional responsibilities have been handled at the official level by a core group of senior secretaries which include the Cabinet Secretary, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Home Secretary, Defence Secretary, Foreign Secretary and the Chief Security Adviser to the Cabinet.

The policy decision to entrust the task to the Army was taken by the Prime Minister in consultation with the Political Affairs Committees of the Cabinet, which met also daily to review the developments and issue new directives. The Union Cabinet as such was brought into the picture only at a later stage.

UNI reports:

Security has been tightened for Mrs. Gandhi and her family members in the light of the developments in Punjab, official sources said today.

The sources said security had been tightened in case of several people who have received "specific threats."

CPI-M CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON PUNJAB REPORTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Jun 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, June 19 --The Communist Party of India (Marxist) today came out with specific suggestions to restore normal conditions in Punjab and demanded withdrawal of the armed forces from the Golden Temple at the earliest.

In a lengthy resolution on the Punjab situation, the central committee of the CPI (M), now in session here, suggested that the temple administration be handed over to its five priests headed by the head priest of the Akal Takht, as demanded by the president of Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee to facilitate repairs and admission of devotees.

The CPI (M) wanted the Government to announce acceptance of the "democratic demands of the Punjabis", the first of which was reference of the river water issue to a tribunal headed by a sitting Supreme Court Judge.

It also wanted Chandigarh to be given to Punjab and compensation to Haryana by the transfer of certain areas from Punjab and financial assistance for the construction of a new capital.

The third demand was that a commission be set up to go into the territorial claims and counter-claims of Punjab and Haryana to settle them on the basis of language and contiguity.

The central committee directed all party units to observe July 10 to 17 as a week for explaining to the people the gravity of the situation, the necessity to preserve communal harmony and to press upon the Government to implement these demands.

Campaign of terror: The resolution said the action against the extremists "who ran a campaign of murder and terror inflaming communal passions and who, now it is clear, were working in collaboration with foreign agents, was welcomed by many as a block struck in defence of national unity and was thought to be the end of the problem."

It noted, however, that "the entry of the armed forces into the temple has led to the estrangement and alienation of vast sections of Sikh masses who feel that the sanctity of the temple has been violated. This feeling is being ex-

plotted by those who have been endeavouring to spread the poison of separatism among the Sikh people and raising the slogan of Khalistan."

In the opinion of the CPI(M) the problems that had now arisen in Punjab could have been avoided had the Union Government "agreed to the proposals of the Opposition parties--proposals which at one stage were accepted by the Akali leaders."

"But the Central Government, motivated by the narrow consideration of securing election mileage for the ruling party, followed a policy of drift which played into the hands of the extremists. It is clear now that, but for this postponement of the decision, the extremists would not have had the time to pile up arms and sophisticated weapons in the Golden Temple." The resolution was released to the press by Mr. Harkishan Singh Surjeet, a member of the politburo.

CSO: 4600/1972

ANALYST TELLS HOPES FOR JAYEWARDENE VISIT

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 14.

The President of Sri Lanka, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, will be arriving in Delhi on June 30 on a three-day visit, on his way back from his official trips to Washington and London, for talks with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on the island's tangled ethnic problem.

The Prime Minister has invited Mr. Jayewardene for talks in Delhi in an effort to break the near-deadlock that has arisen over the Sri Lankan Government's bid to go back on its earlier commitment to grant regional autonomy to the Tamil community in the Northern districts.

New initiative: The current stalemate in the all-party conference has been followed by some vicious attacks on India by some of the Sri Lankan politicians, including a personal tirade against Mrs. Gandhi by the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, leading to a sharp reaction in Delhi. There has been some correspondence between Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Jayewardene on the subject and the latest initiative has been taken by her to persuade Sri Lanka to get back to the main task of finding a fair and equitable solution to the Tamils' problem.

The Indian invitation to Mr. Jayewardene has been extended in the earnest belief that a personal dialogue at the highest level would help to get the roundtable talks back into stride again. The most important thing at the moment, as India sees it, is to keep the all-party conference going even if it is unable to come to grips with the problem at this stage, pending further diplomatic efforts behind the scenes.

Minister visiting?: The Sri Lankan Minister for National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, is also expected to be in Delhi at the time of Mr. Jayewardene's visit, but there is no official confirmation from Colombo about it. He went reasonably satisfied from his last visit to Delhi that India was not encouraging or assisting the Tamil militants who have been resorting to sporadic violence to propagate their cause.

Hardliners' attitude: But the other hardliners in the Jayewardene Government headed by

Mr. Premadasa are indulging in an anti-Indian tirade, threatening to go to the World Court or take the issue to the United Nations. They have been whipping up chauvinistic passions in Sri Lanka under the mistaken impression that, amidst its preoccupation with the Punjab crisis, India was in no position to do anything much about the Tamils problem.

U.K., U.S. reaction: The latest initiative taken by Mrs. Gandhi to invite Mr. Jayewardene to Delhi would help to dispel the impression in Sri Lanka that India was either losing interest in the Tamils problems or was unable to make any fresh moves to end the current stalemate in the roundtable conference. The British and U.S. Governments, which have welcomed the new Indian move, are expected to impress on Mr. Jayewardene during his visits to Washington and London that he should continue to utilise India's good offices for finding a lasting political solution to the Tamils problem.

This will be a second visit by Mr. Jayewardene to Delhi since the outbreak of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka last year which had badly tarnished the island's international reputation. He had detailed discussions with Mrs. Gandhi on all aspects of the Tamils problem during the Commonwealth conference in November last, which opened the way for the current all-party conference.

Breaking stalemate: The Prime Minister had to intervene a few months back to urge Mr. Jayewardene to keep the dialogue open even if there was no progress at the roundtable conference, when he was on the point of adjourning the talks *sine die* which would have meant an abandonment of negotiations. Now the latest effort is directed at getting the deadlocked dialogue reopened to evolve the basic concept of a lasting political settlement acceptable to both sides.

'Colombo not seeking defence pact with U.S.'

COLOMBO, June 14.

The Sri Lanka President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene.

dene, leaving here tonight for the U.S. has denied reports that he is seeking a defence pact with Washington.

"I want no military agreement with anybody", he asserted.

The Sun newspaper here reported today that Mr. Jayewardene had made the statement in reply to a specific question by its correspondent about "fears in some quarters, particularly India", over the possibility of defence cooperation during the President's visit.

Replying to a question, the Sri Lanka President said he did not think the Tamil Nadu Government was asking for a military operation against the island. "It is some crackpots. You cannot stop people talking. The Indian Defence Minister has distinctly said there would not be any military intervention," he said.

Mr. Jayewardene said he did not take notice of Indian press criticism of the recent oil tanks deal at the Trincomalee harbour. Denying that the deal had anything to do with the U.S. he asserted: "Supposing the U.S. was involved, what then, is our job, our business."

Mr. Jayewardene, whose talks with the U.S. President, Mr. Reagan, are to include the political situation in Sri Lanka and South Asian regional affairs, emphasised that small nations like Sri Lanka were important for the U.S. and envisaged for it "an important role" in helping them to protect their freedom.

He was also asked about India's denial of any training camps for Sri Lankan terrorists in Tamil Nadu.

"Yes. They are saying it is not correct. We will have to get more evidence on this."

CSO: 4600/1960

OPPOSITION PARTIES ISSUE STATEMENT ON UNITY

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Jun 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, June 14-- The urgency of restoring amity between Sikhs and Hindus in Punjab was stressed by five Opposition parties in a joint statement issued today under the signature of Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjeet, CPI (M) politburo member.

At a meeting here they considered the Punjab developments and said attention was being shifted from the fight against the extremists, who excelled in killing innocent people, to the violation of the sanctity of the Golden Temple.

"Exploiting the deeply felt feelings of the Sikh masses" said the statement, "reactionaries and communalists are conspiring to create permanent barriers between Hindus and Sikhs and spread the poison of separatism.

"Recent events show that unless all progressive forces come forward to fight this design and soothe the agitated minds of the Sikh masses, the situation might get further worsened."

The leaders who participated in the meeting were Mr. E. M. S.Nambuthiripad, Mr. M. Basavapunniah and Mr. H. S. Surjeet (CPI-M), Mr. H. N. Bahuguna (DSP), Mr. Tridib Chaudhuri (RSP) and Mr. D. D. Shastri (Forward Bloc).

They said the Punjab people should be informed adequately of the danger posed to the country's freedom by the activities of the extremists.

"We want all sober minded people to think whether arms can be concentrated in gurdwaras, whether they did not violate the sanctity of the Golden Temple," said the Opposition leaders.

"We all express our deep feelings of sorrow and grief over the heavy loss of life. It should be remembered that there were certain forces which were working towards it in the name of religion. Let not the story be repeated again."

The statement said that political measures as suggested by the Opposition parties on June 30 last had been taken a solution would have been found and the extremists isolated.

Administrative measures alone could not solve the Punjab problem. In the final analysis it could be solved by creating a sense of satisfaction among the people of Punjab that justice had been done.

"We call upon the Government to realise the great harm done to the nation by its policy of reliance on administrative measures alone, and its refusal to do justice to the democratic demands of the Punjabi people.

"Its policy is irreparably demaging the unity of our people. The Government must immediately take healing steps and find a political solution. The Government also should withdraw censorship to stop rumour mongering."

CSO: 4600/1960

JANATA DISSIDENTS URGE OPPOSITION TO UNITE

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 15 Jun 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, June 14-- A unity conference organized by those who quit the Yuva Janata, the youth wing of the Janata Party, urged all Opposition parties here today "to come together to provide a viable and credible alternative to Mrs Indira Gandhi's Government", reports UNI.

The conference adopted a resolution describing the Lok Dal president, Mr Charan Singh, as "the only leader in the country who commands the majority vote and who is very neat and clean in his personal life".

The resolution said Mr Charan Singh could be the focal point to provide the viable alternative to the Congress (I). It also urged Mr Charan Singh to sacrifice the name of the party, if it was a hurdle in the unity efforts.

The former Yuva Janata president, Mr Sharad Yadav, presided over the conference, which was addressed towards the end by Mr Charan Singh after he was sent the unity resolution.

Prominent among others who addressed the conference were the former Yuva Janata general secretaries, Mr C. Tyagi and Mr Chandra Bhan, and the former Yuva Janata vice-president, Mr A. P. Zaidi.

The conference was not aimed at floating yet another party, but the youth that had assembled here wanted to impress upon the top leadership of various parties the need to forge unity, Mr Zaidi said.

The resolution described those attending the conference as the "militant and committed workers who have revolted against the established leadership to provide a viable alternative to Mrs Gandhi's misrule".

CSO: 4600/1959

OFFICIALS SAY PAKISTAN TELEVISION INCITED DESERTIONS

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 16 Jun 84 p 1

[Text]

New Delhi, June 15 (UNI,PTI): The desertions by some Sikh recruits in the Ganganagar district of Rajasthan on June 6 were sparked by "very provocative films" shown by Pakistan television about the Golden Temple and the militant, leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale.

According to official sources, Pakistan TV showed various parts of the Golden Temple as having been damaged by gunfire. The TV did this even before the Army actions had begun.

The Pakistan TV film was deliberately tailored to incite the Sikh jawans on the border areas where they see Pakistan TV programmes easily and very clearly. The Golden Temple was shown as damaged by superimposing films.

Pakistan TV also showed some old films of Bhindranwale making fiery speeches. It made it appear as if he was speaking at the time. After seeing the provocative Pakistani programmes, some of the Sikh jawans got excited and deserted their unit, the sources said.

It appears some people in the Ganganagar unit got in touch with their counterparts else-

where over the regular Army wireless links and informed them of the happenings in Ganganagar. Three days later trouble started in Pune and a day after that in Ramgarh (Bihar).

The sources said it was important to note that the first such incident took place in the border area and not in an area where Pakistani telecasts could not be seen.

Sikh personnel in the Air Force and the Navy had not reacted at all since they were not in close proximity to the Pakistan border and could not view Pakistan TV programmes. **Pak welcomed extremists:** Some Sikh extremists crossed into Pakistan from India on June 11 and they were extended a very warm reception across the border, according to authentic information reaching here.

The extremists are understood to have reported at the Pakistan observation post across Fazilka.

On the same day, another group of extremists crossed the border and reached the Pakistan border observation post across Sakargarh. They received a similar reception on the other side of the border, the reports said.

CSO: 4600/1961

KASHMIR DENIES AID GIVEN TO SIKH MILITANTS

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 16 Jun 84 p 5

[Text]

Srinagar, June 15: The Jammu and Kashmir government today strongly denied allegations that Sikh extremists had received training in "fortification and use of arms" in the state. The allegation was made by the ministry of home affairs.

The state information minister, Mr Mohammad Shaffi, told newsmen here it was shocking that Jammu and Kashmir had been bracketed with a "foreign country" (Pakistan) while other states where "gurmat camps" had been held were described as "elsewhere in the country."

The Union home minister, Mr P.C. Sethi, had gone on record in the Lok Sabha on November 16, 1983, when he had said that no arms training was given in the camps held in Jammu and Kashmir, Mr Shaffi added.

He said the information furnished by the Centre to Parliament stated that 14 Sikh camps were held in different states. Of these, eight camps were held in Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. The number of "gurmat camps" held in Jammu and Kashmir was six. In these camps, only religious training was imparted to the participants and the Union home ministry was informed by the state about this in December, he asserted.

The letter to the Centre, besides listing measures that the state government had taken to "keep extremist activities away from Jammu and Kashmir," had

said that Sikhs, irrespective of their political ideologies—including those belonging to the Congress(I)—had participated in these camps. He added that no extremists were spotted in religious camps and that no nexus between these camps and offences committed in the state or outside had been established. Similarly, there had been no reports from anywhere that extremists from Punjab had entered the state.

Mr Shaffi said when military action was taken in Amritsar there was some reaction in Jammu and Srinagar. The authorities had immediately mobilised all its forces, including security and paramilitary forces, and sealed the state's border with Punjab so that no one was able to sneak through.

In the police firing at Srinagar last week only nine persons were killed, he said. Since the Army crackdown in Punjab, the number of persons arrested in Jammu and the Valley was 153 and 160 respectively. Some arrests have been made under the state's Public Safety Act.

He regretted that Jammu and Kashmir had been under constant attack on different occasions. "Once again we could do hardly anything more than present our case to the people of this country who, in a democratic set up, are the ultimate arbiters," he added.

GOVERNMENT SEEKING TO MOLLIFY PUNJAB SIKHS

Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, June 15 --As the combing operations by the Army continue in Punjab to crush the remnants of the extremists still at large in the districts, the Prime Minister and her advisers in Delhi are making fresh moves to establish contact with the moderate Sikh leaders including those under detention to begin the process of reconciliation.

The Government does not think that it is possible to engage in any serious dialogue with them, while the Army is still engaged in mopping up operations in this troubled State.

But the latest thinking in Delhi is that the Government cannot afford to wait until these military operations are over to commence the confidence-building process for bringing the Sikh community back into the national mainstream with some imaginative gestures to heal the wounds and help them get over their feeling of alienation.

The foremost task at the moment, as the Government sees it, is to avoid a Hindu-Sikh polarisation in Punjab at any cost, since such a communal rift in a border State could be highly detrimental to the country's national interests. The Government has, therefore, been privately persuading many influential Hindu leaders to urge their followers not to give the impression that they were gloating over the military action while the Sikhs remain deeply hurt and humiliated by the sad sequence of events.

Sikh Priests Being Contacted

Simultaneously, the Prime Minister's emissaries have got in touch with the head priests of all the important gurdwaras in Punjab to enlist their support in creating an atmosphere of reconciliation. A parallel effort is under way to establish contact with the moderate Akali leaders, besides some prominent Sikhs who are not in politics, but no less concerned over what has happened and are ready to offer their good offices in mobilising support for any meaningful initiative the Prime Minister might take to settle the problem.

At the party level, the Congress (I) is planning to send thousands of its men to Punjab on a mass contact mission to preach communal unity, to pacify and assure the agitated Sikhs that the Government is ready to concede all their legitimate demands without any reservation. A similar campaign is to be launched by the Defence Ministry within the Army establishment to explain to the rank and file, especially the Sikh soldiers, why military action against the extremists had become unavoidable.

The Government is also taking steps to provide accurate information to the overseas Indian community about what happened so that they are not influenced unduly by the propaganda of Sikh extremists. It is equally keen to ensure that the intelligence officers in the Indian missions abroad, in their misplaced zeal, do not brand every critic of the military action as supporter of 'Khalistan', which could lead to the alienation of even those Sikhs who have not been supporting the preposterous demand for separation.

Major Plus Point

A major plus point for the Government is that the very intensity of the stiff resistance encountered by the Army in the Golden Temple complex and the types of highly sophisticated arms used by the extremists who had transformed the holy premises into a fortress with a network of pill boxes, machine gun and rocket emplacements, has shocked the more responsible sections of the Sikh community which were not fully aware of the intensive preparations made by the Bhindranwale group to wage this violent campaign. But unfortunately the Government failed to utilise fully this psychological aspect by following both Indian and foreign press to come forward with detailed first-hand reports of this grave development even after the military action.

Timing of Operation

A question that still continues to puzzle many Sikhs and non-Sikhs in India, not to speak of those abroad, is why did Mrs. Gandhi decide at this particular stage to order military action after vacillating for months in the face of grave provocation. It is not generally known that even though the terrorists had intensified the orgy of senseless killings of the innocents, she made a frantic effort as late as the last week of May to establish contact with Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and his associates in a last minute bid to reopen negotiations.

But her emissaries who went secretly to the Golden Temple to meet them were rebuffed by Sant Longowal and his advisers who adopted a very stiff attitude. They were apparently not unaware of what was happening within the Golden Temple complex where the extremists started fortifying themselves against any police or military action. The best possible construction that could be placed on their refusal to engage in fresh negotiations was that perhaps they were no longer free men, with the entrenched militants breathing down their necks and ready to kill them at the slightest sign of any softness on their part.

Extremists' Designs

The refusal of the Longowal group to negotiate more or less coincided with the intensification of terrorism by the followers of Bhindranwale who started killing more and more Hindus, besides stepping up their attacks on the security forces, in an obvious bid to plunge in a communal carnage or at least to frighten the Hindus to flee the State. At this point, the Longowal group announced its decision to launch a State-wide non-cooperation movement as a starting point for unifying the two Sikh factions which were drifting apart.

The Government also came to know that the extremists were planning to fill not only the Golden Temple, but all other gurdwaras in Punjab with civilians including women and children to prevent the Government from taking any drastic action. The religious places were immediately cordoned off, to frustrate this plan and save the lives of innocent people who might be used as hostages by these desperadoes bent on a showdown with the Government.

It was against this background that Mrs. Gandhi and her senior colleagues took the painful decision to take military action. But even then the Government had no idea of the very stiff resistance the Army was going to encounter or the magnitude of the arsenal built up or the type of fortifications erected by the extremists within the Golden Temple premises.

CSO: 4600/1963

BHUTANESE AMBASSADOR REPORTS ON TALKS WITHIN PRC

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 17 Jun 84 p 7

[Text] NEW DELHI, June 16-- China has assured Bhutan of its readiness to settle the Himalayan Kingdom's difference with it on the alignment of their common border, reports UNI.

At the recent Bhutanese-Chinese talks in Beijing, Bhutan had put forward its claims to about 300 square miles of its territory being held by China.

Mr Dasho Om Pradhan, Brutan's Ambassador to India, who led Thimpu's seven-member delegation to the Beijing talks, said the Chinese leaders were keen to reach a settlement with Bhutan.

"They assured us that they will adopt the same attitude to settling the problem as they did with Burma and Nepal", Mr Pradhan said. They hope that there would be no difficulty in this.

Mr Pradhan said his country took the initiative for the talks because "we think that a country like Bhutan should have clear-cut internationally recognized boundaries". He said the next round of talks would be held in Thimpu either in the winter of the next spring.

Mr Pradhan said: "We are going to claim what is our territory. Nothing more, nothing less".

He said the Chinese had put forward five guiding principles, to which the Bhutanese Government had not reacted so far.

The three main points were: Dealings between the two countries should be based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence; comprehensive settlement of the border issues and maintenance of the status quo till the problem was settled.

He said the Government of India had been kept posted of the discussions. "India is fully in the picture", he added. He said it was in the interest of his country that "there be absolute trust and confidence between India and Bhutan".

Mr Pradhan said there was understanding on all issues between India and Bhutan but "as a sovereign independent nation we have to take our own decisions."

He said Bhutan would like to ensure that whatever step it took did not affect its relations with India.

CSO: 4600/1965

AID TO PAKISTAN CASTS SHADOW OVER PRC TALKS

Madras THE HINDU in English 17 Jun 84 p 6

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 16.

The next round of Sino-Indian talks on the border issue is expected to be held in Beijing towards the end of August or early September depending on mutual convenience, according to latest indications.

The exact dates will be settled through diplomatic channels after the two Governments have agreed on when to have these talks to keep up the continuity of the dialogue by adhering to the broad frequency of the discussions.

After the former Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Huang Hua, visited India in June, 1981, there have been four rounds of official level talks alternately in Beijing and Delhi, and the fifth round is due to be held in the Chinese capital soon.

Though no significant progress has been made during these talks in evolving a mutually acceptable basis for detailed discussions, the dialogue has certainly helped to ease the strained relationship and improve the atmosphere for closer contacts in other spheres, pending a settlement of the border problem.

India apprehensive: The disquieting reports of Chinese nuclear assistance to Pakistan have cast a shadow over this process of Sino-Indian normalisation. The latest rumpus between the U.S. and China over Beijing's refusal to give a firm undertaking that it would not transfer nuclear technology or materials to third countries like Pakistan has made India even more apprehensive about Chinese intentions.

There can be no meaningful discussion at the next round of Sino-Indian talks even on the procedural aspects of the border negotiations, if China is indeed bent on aggravating Indo-Pakistan tensions by directly or indirectly assisting the Zia regime in acquiring a nuclear capability in the near future.

A categorical assurance by China that it has no such intention would help to improve the atmosphere for the next round of talks and create the right climate for carrying forward the modest advance made at the last round in Delhi agreeing on a set of basic principles which could serve as guidelines for detailed negotiations on the substantive aspects of the border problem.

The present Chinese Ambassador to India, Mr. Shen Jian, who has been closely associated with various phases of the Sino-Indian efforts for better relations, is leaving shortly after serving for more than four years in Delhi. His successor will take some time to understand India and assess the depth of its feelings over the reported Chinese involvement in Pakistan's nuclear programme.

No great progress likely: In any case there cannot be any great progress at the next round of talks in Beijing even if China is not involved in Pakistan's nuclear pursuits. The whole purpose of having these talks is to keep the door open for more meaningful exchanges at a politically appropriate moment, perhaps after the Indian elections.

The Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Gong Dafei, who conducted the last round of talks in Delhi in October 1983, returned to Beijing with the feeling that no major moves were possible on the eve of the Indian elections.

The purpose of the forthcoming talks in Beijing, therefore, is to keep the dialogue open on the border issue and continue to strive for better understanding in other spheres to create a general atmosphere of conciliation.

But this process can be sustained, as India sees it, only if China does not get involved in sub-continental problems, and avoids any covert or overt acts aimed at undermining India's prestige or influence in the region. And this aspect will be made as abundantly clear as possible at the next round of discussions.

DELHI LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN TO EXPLAIN PUNJAB

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Jun 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 17.

The Government has launched a major diplomatic and publicity drive abroad to create a better understanding of the sad sequence of events in Punjab that led to the military action in the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar followed by the State-wide combing operation against the extremists.

Heads of Indian diplomatic missions have been fully briefed about grave threat the country faced and why the Army had to be called in to deal with this highly dangerous situation, so that they could bring these facts to the notice of their host Governments and supplement the information they have been receiving from their own sources.

Proper perspective: Special efforts are being made to get across factual information to the press and television networks in countries like Britain, Canada, United States, France and West Germany, where the local Indian communities have no means of knowing what exactly happened in its proper perspective other than what they read in the local press or see on television.

Last night a detailed video recording of the Golden Temple complex was transmitted from Delhi by satellite to the TV networks in the U.S. and Canada for display during prime hours to get the maximum attention.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi is herself appearing in the highly popular BBC programme "Panorama" to explain to the British public and the Indian community in Britain why she had to take stern action against the extremists. She has also sought the help of the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, in presenting a true picture to the people in Britain.

Govt. satisfied: The Government is generally satisfied with the manner in which the U.S. press and television networks have handled this development. What is important is that the ferocity of resistance put up by the extremists at the Golden Temple, the type of modern arms used by them and the nature of the extensive fortification put up to transform the whole complex into an impenetrable bastion

had helped to project the seriousness of the threat faced by the Government, which was left with no alternative except to call in the Army.

There was at no stage any vicarious glee in the U.S. over India's discomfiture and no attempt was made to decry the military action by taking a one-sided view of this tragic event. On the contrary, there has been considerable concern at all levels of responsible American opinion that the threat posed to the unity and integrity of India by this militant movement bordering on open insurgency through widespread terrorism endangered the very basis of Indian democracy, which was the main bedrock of stability in the South Asian region.

Sympathy, understanding: Happily the Government of India has had no occasion this time to pick a bone with the U.S. for taking an unfriendly view of the Punjab situation. The U.S. media, Governmental opinion and Congressional circles have by and large reacted with both sympathy and understanding, besides relief and reassurance that Mrs. Gandhi has been able to handle this explosive situation.

The reports of desertions by some army personnel did cause some excitement because of the impression created by earlier press reports that India was faced with a mutinous threat. But the subsequent coverage of these desertions helped to put the event in its proper perspective and dispel the feeling that the Punjab crisis had plunged India into a much more serious situation.

In Britain, too, the press coverage has by and large been factual, barring a few exceptions. The first Indian impression of hostility generated by the use of some colourful expressions in the description of events was allayed by the totality of reportage that has been generally objective, even if it was critical at times. The French and West German press had not given such detailed coverage as in the U.S. or Britain, but it had not in any way sought to give only a one-sided version of events blaming the Government for its belated action.

Gaps to be filled: But there are still many gaps in the foreign press coverage which can be filled only by India through energetic diplomatic efforts backed by imaginative publicity with facts and figures capable of carrying conviction. The Government is now engaged in this challenging task to get the Indian point of view across to a representative cross-section of opinion in the West.

A parallel effort is also being made to launch a similar drive in the Third World countries which are more vulnerable to hostile propaganda by some unfriendly countries bent on maligning India by conjuring visions of an upsurge of Hindu chauvinism, while in reality there is nothing communal about the action taken to stamp out terrorism irrespective of the cause the extremists in Punjab sought to propagate in their own demented fashion.

CSO: 4600/1967

'SOURCES' GIVE DETAILS ON BORDER SMUGGLING

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Jun 84 p 5

[Text] Some "parallel syndicates" of smugglers regularly operating on both sides of the Indo-Pakistan border for years, account for the bulk of smuggling of arms, silver, gold, heroin, charas, liquor, betel leaves, opium and tetracycline powder, reports PTI.

Operating through "hired carriers", these smugglers, sitting in air-conditioned houses in Delhi, Chandigarh and Amritsar, on this side of the border and in Lahore, Rawalpindi and Karachi, on the other have amassed huge wealth over the years and are operating transport companies and own cinema houses, official sources said on Tuesday.

The smuggling prone areas include Patti, Khemkaran and Khalra tehsils of Amritsar district, which were part of Lahore district before partition.

Six families of these areas which had close links with the people across the border became affluent within the first three years of partition and were now the king pins of the smuggling operations on this side of the border. Though their sons and grandsons educated in convent schools have settled in Delhi and other places, the families have their roots in these villages. While one of these families owns a cinema house in Delhi, two others operate transport companies, the official sources said adding that some of them belong to the villages Burg and Shakari in Amritsar district.

The notorious smugglers on the other side of the fence include Yakub, Shafi and Ashraf. A "big man", popularly known as Abid Seth, who has his offices in London and Dubai, operates on the Indo-Pakistan border. He is said to have had the full backing of the Bhutto regime but was once detained by the military rulers. He was, however, let off after some time, the sources said.

The syndicates of smugglers on both sides have "excellent" relations among themselves. The main items of smuggling include gold, silver, liquor, betel leaves from India and gold, opium, heroin, charas, watches and tetracycline powder from Pakistan. "Black Knight whisky" seems to be very popular among the Pakistan smugglers which fetches them Rs 200 per bottle.

Hired carriers

The hired carriers, who operate on both the sides are paid between Rs 50 to Rs 100 per trip. The rate has gone up to Rs 150 to Rs 200 during the last cou-

ple of weeks in view of tight security arrangements on the border in the wake of Punjab trouble, the sources said.

These carriers always run the risk either of being killed or nabbed by the BSF personnel on patrol duty. Most of the carriers, operating at the instance of Indian smugglers, are poor Harijans and Christians living in border villages of Amritsar district. When nabbed, they sometimes divulge the names of their link men on the basis of which prosecutions are launched by the Customs authorities and the local police. But seldom any charge is proved against the persons behind the scene, the sources said adding that even the cases made out under the COFEPOSA are hardly established in the courts.

The BSF which is responsible for intercepting all the illegal entries on the border cannot deal with the organisers and financiers of the smuggling operations. The "carriers" operating on the border are either killed or arrested by the BSF personnel. The arrested persons are handed over to the Customs and the local police.

In 1974 the Government had enacted MISA and some of these organisers and financiers were arrested. The Government had also brought about a legislation called smuggling and foreign Exchange Manipulator (Forfeiture of Property) Act, 1976 with a view to attaching any property built with the earnings of smuggling. But the procedure laid down in the law was so cumbersome that hardly any smuggler's property could be attached. Though still in force, the law has since been proved ineffective to deal with the smugglers.

Only the COFEPOSA seems to have proved effective to some extent and the smugglers were afraid of this law, the official sources said.

According to a spokesman of the BSF, the BSF personnel on the borders seized three tonnes of silver and liquor worth Rs 72,267 on the Punjab border and liquor worth Rs 75,000 on the Rajasthan border in 1983. This year so far two tonnes of opium and 25 kgs of heroin have been seized. The heroin haul is considered to be the biggest in the country so far, the BSF spokesman said.

Besides 87 kgs of outgoing silver and liquor worth Rs 28,770 have also been seized in the first six months of this year, he said.

AID INDIA CONSORTIUM INCREASES AID FOR 1984-85

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 21 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] Paris, June 20 (UNI)--The Aid India Consortium today pledged an assistance of 4,000 million dollars to the country for 1984-85, an increase of 300 million dollars over the commitment for last year.

This was announced at the end of a two-day meeting of the consortium, held amid speculation that there might be a marginal cut in the assistance.

A strong plea by India's Finance Secretary P K Kaul to the meeting yesterday against any reduction in the concessional aid and India's satisfactory economic performance in the past year are believed to have influenced the decision to raise the assistance.

The new commitment by the consortium marked an 8.5 per cent increase over the last year's allocation of 3,700 million dollars, but in real terms the increase will be only between two to three per cent.

The aid from India's most important source for external assistance will nevertheless become more expensive for the country because of a larger component of assistance coming from the lending window of the World Bank to compensate for the reduction in the funds from IDA.

Senior World Bank officials had earlier expressed fears that the aid commitment might decline because of cuts in the allocation for the International Development Association, a World Bank affiliate, which traditionally constituted the largest component of concessional aid for India.

The IDA funds are now 3,000 million dollars short of the estimated target of 12,000 million dollars for its seventh replenishment launched in April.

India's share of IDA funds had declined from more than 60 per cent in the late 70s to less than 25 per cent last year. There has been a further decline this year.

A senior World Bank official told UNI at the conclusion of the two-day Aid India Consortium meeting that the World Bank's share in the consortium's aid commitment for 1985-85 would be about 2,700 million dollars.

CABINET APPROVES DRAFT OF SEVENTH PLAN

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 21 Jun 84 p 6

[Text] The Union Cabinet on Wednesday approved the draft approach paper prepared by the Planning Commission on the Seventh Plan aiming at an annual growth rate of a little over five per cent, reports UNI.

The Cabinet considered the document as reviewed by the commission on the basis of the observations of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at its last meeting. Mrs Gandhi had then called for a greater stress on the anti-poverty thrust of the Plan and on creation of maximum employment opportunities.

It was agreed that the seventh Plan should have a three-fold objective of — food, work and productivity.

Since some finishing touches have still to be given to the approach paper, the meeting of the National Development Council fixed for 3 and 4 July to approve it is being shifted to a later date.

Certain points were raised at the Cabinet meeting which would be discussed by the concerned ministers with Planning Minister S B Chavan.

At a meeting of the Planning Commission held here on 4 June, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said aspects concerning elimination of poverty and provision of more employment should be very clearly brought out in the approach paper.

The commission decided that the first among the three principal aims of the Seventh Plan

would be accelerated growth of agricultural and food production.

For this strong emphasis should be laid on irrigation — full utilisation of the existing potential and creation of maximum possible additional irrigation facilities.

It was decided that as a corollary, priority would have to be ensured for investment and technological inputs in the industrial infrastructure required to support accelerated agricultural and food production.

Less developed regions and areas of low agricultural productivity would receive special attention. There would also be concentration on rural development activity, particularly on programmes intended to create rural employment and alleviate poverty.

Though the emphasis on agriculture and rural development in itself would increase employment in the connected sectors, the endeavour in every sector would be to increase productive jobs.

In order to achieve the third objective of productivity, all-out efforts would be made in the Seventh Plan to utilise better the existing capacities, along with modernisation and introduction of balancing facilities needed to stabilise and improve production and productivity.

The endeavour would be to secure the maximum from investments already made and from those to be made during the Plan.

BRIEFS

INDIAN ILO REPRESENTATIVE--NEW DELHI, June 15--The INTUC Treasurer, Mr. Kanti Mehta, who is also the President of the Indian National Mine Workers Federation, was re-elected for the fifth consecutive term to the governing body of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) on Wednesday. In the elections held in Geneva, where the 70th conference of the international tripartite body is now in session, Mr. Mehta polled the second largest number of votes among worker delegates. The INTUC leader has been on the ILO's governing body since 1972 without a break. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Jun 84 p 7]

STATE ELECTIONS PLANNED--New Delhi, June 19 (UNI)--Elections to Assemblies of at least nine states and two Union Territories will be held next year, according to Election Commission sources. The states are Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan and the Union Territories, Arunachal Pradesh and Goa. The terms of Punjab and Pondicherry Assemblies will also expire next year. In Sikkim, the sources said the Assembly elections were unlikely to be held in October as scheduled. Some state party leaders are of the view that the elections should be held on is likely this year. The chief electoral officers of all the states and Union territories are meeting here from July 13 to 18. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 20 Jun 84 p 1]

NEW TRAINER AIRCRAFT--BANGALORE, June 18--The new HTT-34 twin seat turbo-prop trainer aircraft, designed and developed by HAL had its maiden flight in Bangalore on Sunday at the HAL airfield. The chairman of HAL, Air Marshal L. M. Katre, the Managing Director (Design and Development), Mr. R. Varadarajan, and a large gathering from HAL were present. The aircraft was flown by Wg. Cdr. P. Ashoka, chief test pilot and Sqn. Ldr. S. H. Apte, deputy test pilot. The HTT-34 aircraft is derived from the earlier HPT-32 piston engine trainer aircraft. The piston engine has been replaced by a turbo prop engine of 420 hp with associated system changes and provision of navigational facilities such as radio compass. Most of the instruments are of indigenous design. The re-engining of the prototype HTT-34 was undertaken in five months. This aircraft will now undergo a series of development trials and it is intended to exhibit it in the forthcoming Farnborough air show in the U.K. in September. The indigenously designed and developed Kiran MK-II get trainer aircraft will also be participating in the show. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Jun 84 p 9]

VICE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS--NEW DELHI, June 18--The Vice-Presidential election, to choose a successor to Mr M Hidayatullah, is expected to be held in the third week of August, reports PTI. The term of Mr Hidayatullah, the seventh Vice-President since India became a Republic, will expire on August 30. Dr Subhash C Kashyap, secretary-general, Lok Sabha, will be the returning officer for the election. The necessary notification will be issued on June 25, Mr R. K. Trivedi, Chief Election Commissioner said here today. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 19 Jun 84 p 9]

NEW SIKKIM GOVERNOR--GANGTOK June 18--Mr Kona Prabhakar Rao was sworn in as the Governor of Sikkim today reports PTI. The Chief Justice of Sikkim Mr M L. Shrimal, administered the oath to Mr Rao at a simple ceremony at Raj Bhavan. Three former Chief Ministers Kazi Lhendup Dorji Mr Nar Bahadur Bhandari and Mr B B Gurung, were among those present Mr Rao succeeds Mr J. H. Taleyarkhan. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 19 Jun 84 p 9]

NATIONAL FISHERIES BODY--NEW DELHI, June 15--The Centre's decision to set up a National Fisheries Corporation to deal with problems facing the fisheries industry and to ensure its proper development was announced by the Agriculture Minister, Mr Rao Birendra Singh here today, reports PTI. The Minister, who was inaugurating a national workshop on fisheries, being attended by secretaries and directors of fisheries of the State Governments and others, suggested the setting up of a federation of State Fisheries Corporations to ensure coordinated development of the industry. Mr Rao Birendra Singh spoke against any attempt by State Governments to negotiate directly with foreign countries to enter into an agreement for collaboration in the field. He said that all such negotiations must be made through the Central Government which would help them whole-heartedly keeping in view the national interest. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Jun 84 p 13]

ASSOCIATION WITH CEMA--Moscow, June 15 (UNI)--The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) will not be averse to associating India, a source said here today. The CMEA is already collaborating with some Third World countries which are not members of the socialist bloc. CMEA states had so far been collaborating with India on individual bases, the sources told UNI. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Jun 84 p 2]

HARYANA GOVERNOR INAUGURATED-- Chandigarh, June 14 (PTI)--Mr S M H Burney was sworn in as the new Governor of Haryana at an impressive ceremony at the Haryana Raj Bhavan here today. The oath of office was administered to Mr Burney by acting Chief Justice of the Punjab and Haryana High Court P C Jain in Urdu. The Governor took the oath in the same language. He signed the requisite forms also in Urdu. Present on the occasion were Chief Minister Bhajan Lal, his Cabinet colleagues and the Speaker Tara Singh, who felicitated the new Governor after the ceremony. Mr Burney, who was till recently the Governor of Manipur, Tripura and Nagaland, told newsmen soon after assumption of his new office that his first task would be to help the State Government to maintain law and order in the State. He said he was very happy to Haryana which has made great strides in different fields in the shortest span of time. Mr Burney inspected a guard of honour and took salute from a contingent of the Haryana police after the swearing in ceremony. [Text] New Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 Jun 84 p 6]

NEW NAGALAND GOVERNOR--Kohima, June 14 (UNI)--Former Chief of Army Staff General K V Krishan Rao took over as Governor of Nagaland at a simple ceremony at Raj Bhavan here last evening. General Rao appealed to all Nagas "within and outside Nagaland to come forward to put their shoulders for a better, brighter and prosperous Nagaland". Immediately after taking oath, the Governor in a message broadcast over the local station of All India Radio said that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was very much concerned about the welfare and development of the backward regions, of which Nagaland was a part. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 Jun 84 p 6]

MIZORAM CHAKMA INFLUX--Aizawl, June 15--There has been an influx of Chakmas in to Mizoram in the Demagiri sector following violent disturbances across the international border, according to security forces. The security forces quickly detected this movement and effectively contained it. The Chakmas, most of them women and children, are in a state of fright. Some children sustained bullet injuries, before crossing in to Mizoram. The security forces are now engaged in pushing the Chakmas back across the border. Approximately 700 Chakmas have already been pushed back. Previously also, the Chakmas taking shelter in Mizoram have been forced to go across the border by the security forces. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Jun 84 p 6]

CSO: 4600/1974

PROVISIONS FOR AUTO IMPORTATION ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 19 Jun 1984 p 3

[Text] Iranian Customs has announced regulations concerning the importation of automobiles by government officials and graduates of foreign universities.

The test of the regulations approved by the cabinet concerning permitting permanent state officials abroad and Iranian students to bring in automobiles upon their return is as follows:

In a session on 27 November 1983, based on proposal No. 159 dated 14 May 1983 by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, the cabinet approved the following items:

1 - Permanent officials of state organizations abroad (political, economic, cultural, military and others), on completion of their fixed assignment and return to Iran, may bring back with them one private automobile one time only, by paying customs fees, import taxes and related charges and expenses, or may import and clear from customs the same within a six-month period of their arrival, provided that:

a - They have completed at least two full years of an assignment abroad as a permanent official.

b - They had purchased the automobile at least one year prior to their return to Iran, and that this has been certified by a local representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Article 2 - Graduates returning from abroad may bring with them one private automobile one time, or may import one within six months of their arrival, and on the payment of customs fees, 20 percent import taxes, and all related charges and expenses, clear it from customs, provided that:

a - That they have studied at an accredited foreign university, certified by the Ministry of Higher Education and Culture, and have at least earned a bachelors or graduate degree, or in the case of physicians, have spent two years in a program of their specialty and have obtained the related certificate.

Article 3 - The automobiles concerned in these regulations must possess the following characteristics:

- 1 - Have a CIF value of at least 6,000 dollars.
- 2 - Four-door and four-cylinder
- 3 - Gasoline engines

Customs fees, import taxes, and other taxes will be assessed and levied on the basis of the CIF value of the car when new. No reductions whatsoever in customs costs and fees, import taxes, or other taxes will be given on the basis of different models, gas consumption or accident damage.

Note: If the price of the automobile exceeds the designated level, import taxes will be assessed at 9 percent of the excess value. According to the contents of regulations No 14 - 166 approved by the cabinet, officials of state organizations abroad and graduated students abroad are permitted to import their private automobiles. According to the aforementioned regulations, they may clear the automobile through the Import-Export Office after meeting the related provisions.

Thus the individuals in question may transport their imported car within a maximum period of five days to any one of the country's customs offices they desire. Provided that all regulations are obeyed, there are two ways this can be done. One is to make a cash deposit or a bank guarantee worth three times the car's value, plus the value of customs fees, import taxes, and related taxes. The other is to transport the car accompanied by an official, and incur all accompanying expenses. After delivering the automobile to Customs, they must contact the Import-Export Office with the storehouse receipt. After the provisions have been met, the necessary instructions for the release of the customs bill will be given. It should be noted that the automobiles herein may only be transported after a cash deposit or a certified bank guarantee has been received, or transported by an official. Regulations do not permit promissory notes or checks. Those who do not follow the regulation will be prosecuted.

Additionally, in order to control the automobiles imported and to ensure their arrival at their destinations, alphabetically-ordered notebooks must be prepared separately for each one of the items above. After the transmit permit has been issued, the complete characteristics of the automobile, its owner and his address must be registered in these notebooks. After the automobile arrives at its destination, the bill concerned will be settled.

9597

CSO: 4640/300

COLUMNIST USES LETTERS TO ARGUE CASE FOR ATOM BOMB

Letter Favoring Bomb

Karachi JANG in Urdu 11 Jun 84 p3

[Abdul Qadir Hassan column "Non-Political Affairs: "Yours Truly, the People of Pakistan"]

[Text] A straightforward and honest Pakistani brother has expressed his feelings about atom bombs without any ambiguity in a straight forward manner. Free from political and diplomatic expediency, this Pakistani is amazed and bewildered about what is preventing us from producing an atom bomb if we can really produce one and what we are waiting for. If we have produced an atom bomb, then why are we afraid and why do we not say so openly to the world. This Pakistani's letter is tantamount to a letter from all Pakistanis. This letter represents the feelings of all Pakistanis, but it bears the name of one Pakistani, though in another sense it bears the signatures of 85 million Pakistanis or, to be more specific, those of 100 million Muslims. Consider it your own letter, which has been given the power to express your feelings, and at the same time pray to God that he may end our helplessness. No government can dream of a bigger honor and no Pakistani can think of a better reason for joy and happiness:

"Recently you published a letter about the atom bomb in your well-known column 'Non-Political Affairs'. I am grateful to the creator of the universe that you took up Pakistan's most important problem.

According to you and respected Dr Abdul Qadir Khan, producing an atom bomb is a political decision that is up to the government in power. Mr Hassan, after Quaid-e Azam can you tell me of any government that made important political decisions in the proper manner whether it was a military or a civilian government? The people believe that important decisions are always made under foreign pressure.

"Mr Hassan, you have always been telling me that we should develop agriculture, investment and commerce and trade; build factories, schools and hospitals; and build beautiful and idyllic roads and parks. But how can I do all this wholeheartedly when I am not sure whether I will be able to enjoy all these things? You may tell me a hundred thousand times but I do not believe that this country will survive. Why should I do all this for some other nation?

"For doing all this, you will provide me with loans and resources from outside. I will embezzle some of the money and deposit it in my personal account in some safe foreign country where I can flee to rest and live in peace when trouble comes.

"If the government does not have enough funds to produce an atom bomb, let it appeal to the nation for donations. God willing, the government will not have to face frustrations. Let them take half my salary. The people will gladly bear hardships and accept 10-hour electricity outages instead of 4. The people are not satisfied with 40 F-16s and they never will be. If the government wishes to hold a referendum on some important political proposal, then it should hold one on producing atom bomb.

"If we produced one atom bomb today, investment would start pouring in the very next day. People will start working zealously and our neighbors will come to their senses. Otherwise, as the Pushto saying goes, 'the Hindu has become tired of praying, but God still remains displeased.' However much Gen Ziaul Haw may try, Indira Gandhi will sign neither a peace treaty nor a treaty of friendship.

"Why are so many crimes and robberies taking place in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad in broad daylight? This is because they know very well that the people whose houses they intend to rob are not in a position to defend their homes adequately. Why aren't such incidents taking place here in the Frontier [Province]? Simply because the people here have much better and stronger weapons. Pakistan's position is exactly the same. Everyone threatens us and tries to put pressure on us.

"I hope that you will start a powerful campaign in this connection, or in other words, Abdul Qadir Hassan of Islamabad, go quietly to Dr Abdul Qadir Khan and ask him to make an atom bomb quietly and after producing it to say so. His personality is such that no one can do anything against him."

With regards, yours truly,

Mian Tahsinullah Jan, Charsadda, Frontier Province.

You read this letter. Though there is no room for comment, in the end I apologize to Pakistanis who may have been inconvenienced by reading this letter and to the frustrated Pakistanis who have been deprived of their traditional Islamic qualities of courage and valor.

Hanif Ramay Letter

Karachi JANG in Urdu 15 Jun 84 p 3

[Abdul Qadir Hassan column "Non-Political Affairs": "Hanif Ramay and the Atom Bomb"]

[Text] After I recently quoted in this column a few lines from well-known Pakistani scientists Dr Abdul Qadir Khan's statement on an atom bomb, it appears that readers were expecting a flood of letters on the subject demanding

that Pakistan set forth and make an atom bomb at once. We can at the most wage an atomic war with our pens. The real bomb will be used either by Dr Abdul Qadir Khan or President Ziaul Haq. But impatience has reached such heights that Hanif Ramay wants the bomb to explode the moment his letter is published. Would to God that Hanif Ramay's desires are fulfilled. But just now we present the blast of his letter.

"Dear Brother Abdul Qadir Hassan,

"You recently started a discussion which is so close to my heart and my mind that I cannot help indulging in it. Right from the beginning my stand with respect to the atom bomb has been that if we can make an atom bomb we might as well make it as soon as possible. But my position is not militant. It is based on peaceful designs. In proof of my claim I have three kinds of evidence: religious, historical and material.

"1. There is no doubt whatsoever that the most merciful, most forgiving and loving God ordered that evil should be suppressed with virtue. But when an adversary is bent on doing evil, then the same merciful God who also possesses the power of retaliation and chastisement has given clear and unambiguous orders to fight and wage war against the enemy. In this connection, God decrees that we should be so prepared and alert that the sound of the hooves of our horses should instill terror in the hearts of our enemies.

"2. God sent Holy Prophet Mohammad as the divine blessing of the universe. The prophet, who was the embodiment of divine mercy and kindness, had to fight against 'bu-jahals' and 'bu-lahabs' [Abu Jahal and Abu Lahab were the uncles of the only prophet and were his bitter enemies; thus, these terms are used in general for enemies of Islam], bitter enemies of Islam in the war of Uhd, because sometimes only war can be a guarantee of blessing. Not all wars guarantee blessings, only those that bring about domination of good forces over evil, because without domination of good forces 'shahadat', i.e., martyrdom, can be attained but not victory, which is an other name for God's blessings.

"3. An atom bomb was used when the United States was the only country that possessed this weapon, about 40 years ago. But no atom bomb has been used since the United States ceased to have monopoly over it and the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China also acquired this weapon. The United States, despite its extreme desire and urgent need, could not use it in Vietnam. Today the proliferation of atom bombs has in itself become the biggest barrier to its use. If this is a fact, then one is forced to wonder why the spreading of atom bombs in the Islamic world is being restricted.

"4. Israel, which is a splinter in the heart of the Muslim world, possesses the atom bomb. Similarly, it is now 10 years since India made its first atom bomb. In the whole world making an atom bomb is considered a criminal act only for the Muslim world and Pakistan, and they are forbidden to make this weapon. The reason is simple enough. If Muslim countries were to start making atom bombs, then their dependence on conventional weapons made and sold by factories in the United States and at their own prices, would face a great loss. We must change this situation by making atom bombs. As long as we remain dependent for our defense on foreign powers we cannot achieve political and economic freedom.

"5. Pakistan wishes to live in peace with all of its neighbors. We wish to live in peace even with India, but it should be an honorable peace on the basis of equality, not a position politically and economically subservient to India. We extended our hand of friendship to India time and again, but every time we received a cold shoulder. Only recently, for the first time, was some warmth shown, and people who really know, how that this warmth will last only as long as India is faced with the Sikh crisis. If we wish to have long-lasting peace with India, then we will have to bring our defensive system on the same level as that of India by making atom bombs. I can tell you in writing that on the very day after Pakistan makes an atom bomb India will extend its hand of friendship to us, and it will not be hypocritical then as it is today.

"6. The United States and Israel have been calling Pakistan's atomic program the Islamic bomb right from the start. The fact is that on the very day that Pakistan acquires this weapon, Israel's aggression will be curbed. Pakistan will have to accomplish this task if not for itself then for the sake of the Muslim world. There is always the risk, of course, that Israel, just as it did in the case of Iraq may attack our atomic installations. Even the United States will be displeased at us for daring to make this weapon. But at this time, Israel has its hands full with Syria and the United States is involved in the Gulf crisis. Taking advantage of this situation, we should try to accomplish this task immediately, without delay. I sincerely pray that the atom bomb blast takes place the very moment your column is published."

Yours sincerely,

Mohammad Hanif Ramay

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DATE FILMED

7 AUGUST 1984